
Saint Anselm

JOSEPH CLAYTON

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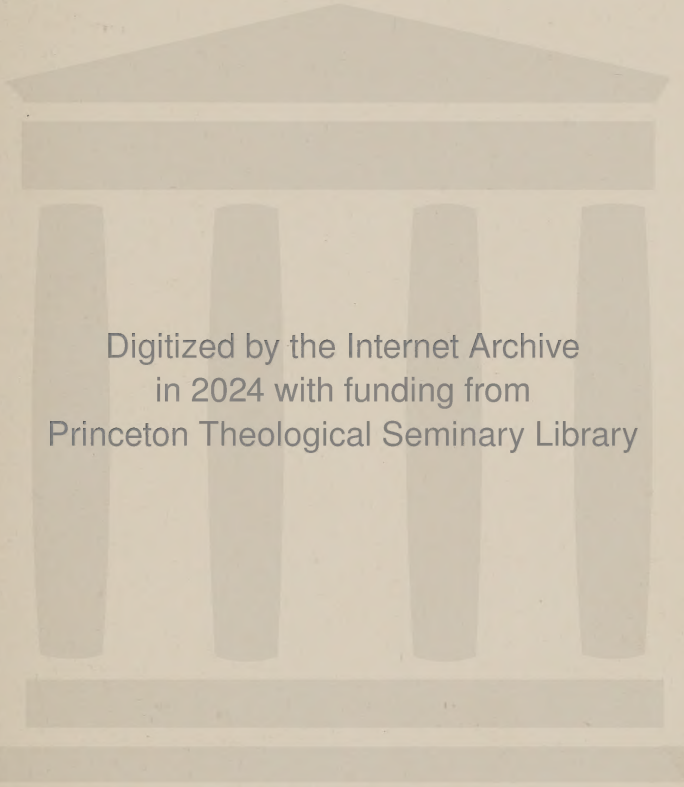
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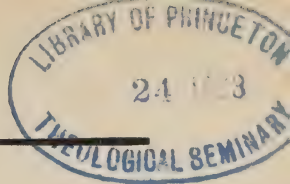
SAINT ANSELM



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SAINT ANSELM



Saint Anselm

A Critical Biography

By JOSEPH CLAYTON, F.R.Hist.S.

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PREFACE BY THE GENERAL EDITOR

A distinguished service has been rendered by Mr. Clayton in his volume on St. Anselm. It is the first book in the English language to give a complete picture of the Saint and reveal him to us in the full light that recent Scholarship has shed upon him.

Auspiciously this new life of the great Churchman, Saint and Doctor of the Church, makes its appearance in the year commemorating the nine hundredth anniversary of his birth. But it is more than a mere centenary volume. It is a lasting contribution to biographical literature, replete with interest and inspiration.

St. Anselm, Abbot of Bec and Archbishop of Canterbury, is one of the world's great and heroic figures. Dauntless in his defence of ecclesiastical rights and Christian principles, he stands forth for all times as the fearless champion of justice and of truth. Strength of character was enhanced in him by culture and refinement. His mind was stored with the best knowledge of his age and his heart was on fire with zeal for the cause of God. Though a man of action he was also a giant in intellect, and the splendor of his learning shines down to us through the murk and darkness and vicissitudes of all the many centuries. In the apocalyptic symbolism of St. John, his life was a star that shone most brightly in the hand of the Saviour; a flame that burned most fairly on its golden candlestick in the Sanctuary of the Lord.

In briefest words, Anselm was a man whose wisdom we admire, whose strength we rightly covet, and whose gentleness we all should learn to love. Happily the Church has never lost the mould from which such men were cast and can produce them now no less.

Nothing can be more fascinating, heartening, and spiritually invigorating, than to follow, as here depicted, the struggles of simple holiness in its defence against all the powers of armed aggression; to see an Anselm matched against a Rufus, the humble yet unyielding Saint against the fierce "Red King," whose untamed nature raged with elemental violence and crushed whatever crossed his path — except the man of God.

The author of this volume, a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society of England and an Oxford student, one of the long line of serious thinkers and men of letters who have entered the Fold since the beginning of the Oxford Movement, is widely read in medieval lore and intimately conversant with the ecclesiastical history of his own land. Not only has he successfully incorporated into his work the results of recent researches, but his vigorous and graphic style lends new zest and interest to his theme. The book will appeal to all and should help to bring about still further that quickening of spirit which is taking place today. It is an elixir of spirit for those who quaff of it.

JOSEPH HUSSLEIN, S.J., PH.D.

General Editor, Science and Culture Series.

Feast of St. Agnes, 1933,
St. Louis University, St. Louis.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

On the long roll of Catholic archbishops of Canterbury, that begins with St. Augustine in the sixth century and ends with Cardinal Pole in the sixteenth, are the names of saints and martyrs, of statesmen and ministers of the crown; great and glorious names, illuminating in many cases the history not only of God's kingdom and the doings of God's will but also of the kingdoms of this world and the work of its princes.

The brightness that belongs peculiarly to the names of men whose labours, enriching the treasury of the mind, reveal a fuller knowledge of God; the brightness that time cannot dim wherever men and women, led by the Spirit, follow truth, is worn by one name alone on that list of the archbishops. Anselm among all the occupants of the throne of Canterbury, Anselm "the pope and patriarch of another world," as Urban II called him in his speech of welcome, is the only Doctor of the Universal Church.

Primarily, then, as philosopher and theologian Anselm is assured an immortal memory. The understanding of Divine Truths as the offspring of faith, not reason finding the proof of faith (*credo ut intelligam, non quaero intelligere ut credam*), is the abiding interest throughout his life, the ruling passion strong in death, when the hour strikes for the old Archbishop to depart. The rule of religion is favourable to the mind attracted to metaphysics,

the regular life of the monk is appropriate for the student of philosophy, the monastery is the right place for the mastery of theology. In nearly every case, though exceptions may be quoted, the great theologians of the Catholic Church come from the regular clergy; they are monks in the first thousand years, friars in the middle ages, priests of the Society of Jesus in the seventeenth century.

The providence of God plunged St. Anselm into public life, so that he became a prominent figure in the European contest for the freedom of the Church from the dominant rule of princes. But he is always a monk, Anselm the Archbishop, always the monk of the abbey of St. Mary of Bec, for whom obedience is the beginning of religion and humility its sweetest virtue. Throughout the struggle with the crown of England Anselm can but reiterate that he is bound to obey the Pope, that only the Pope can release him from that obedience. His personal convictions and private opinions on the evils attending royal investiture of bishops and abbots are not intruded. Rome has spoken, through the voice of Christ's vicar on earth, through the councils called by Christ's vicar; and nothing remains but to obey.

The freedom Anselm strove for was the freedom to obey the spiritual order in the new world. That such a spiritual order existed was manifest. All Christendom in Anselm's days accepted the spiritual supremacy of the Pope. Men did not deny that supremacy even when they flouted it, and followed their own desires, victims of the itch for power and money. They no more doubted that the Pope, as the successor of St. Peter, was God's vicar on earth than they doubted the existence of God, almighty and eternal.

Men and women in those eleventh and twelfth centuries were often in doubt and dispute as to what exactly the moral law, the law of God and of conscience, ordered in particular cases. (Was it right for queen Margaret's daughter Edith, after living as a nun, to be married to King Henry I?) They often violated the moral law, preferring, as in later and earlier centuries, an indulgence of the lusts of the flesh. The unruly wills and affections of Normans and English imply shortcomings and much going astray from the moral order of the Kingdom of God. But they knew right from wrong, Normans and English knew the right and approved it even when they fell short of the mark and did the wrong.

So with the papal supremacy.

What exactly were the conditions of that supremacy when kings and princes were concerned, was by no means clear to bishops and clergy of high and low degree? (Did the bishop get his authority in temporals, authority to rule his tenants and collect the rents of his estates, from the crown? If so, what service must he render to the crown in return for this authority conferred upon him?) That the Pope was the head of all churches in every land, the divinely appointed head, because he had succeeded to the throne of St. Peter, was, of course, plain; though the headship had become rather obscured in the bad days at Rome before Hildebrand started his reforms. Abbeys without abbots, bishoprics without bishops, because princes lived on the revenues and refused to fill up vacancies, were open scandals; the Church depressed, the poor robbed by the transgression. All men including princes knew it. The Pope forbade such evil proceedings; as he did the buying

of abbeys, bishoprics, and benefices — the sin of simony; as he forbad no less the parochial clergy taking to themselves wives and mistresses. William the Conqueror and his Archbishop Lanfranc would have none of such disobedience to the law given from Rome; yet William could not believe the Pope had an authority in England that overtopped the crown — save in things spiritual — and Lanfranc was for working with the crown, and letting William have his way, since it was a good way.

It was Anselm, to whom clear thinking was a necessity, the faculty of reasoning a gift of God, accurate use of words a duty, Anselm, Abbot of Bec, Archbishop of Canterbury, and always philosopher and monk, who was forced by circumstances to bring the issue of feudal rights and papal supremacy to a peaceful settlement — as far as England was concerned: it was not a final settlement for Europe. That was yet to come.

The question for Anselm was England, not Europe. His responsibility was for the spiritual welfare of the land where he was Archbishop. He answered the question truthfully, because trained in the service of truth he was a loyal servant; faithful to truth because to be unfaithful was to be false to God. His responsibility was confined to England; the responsibility solemnly accepted when he was made Archbishop. Being gifted with wisdom Anselm did not add to his burden by annexing the responsibilities of others. Neither did he lay waste his own powers — knowing that he had full need of them for the work before him — by incursions into dominions not his own. Nor did he dissipate his strength and diminish his energy by looking abroad to see what good he could do. He was far too wise

to go in search of adventures outside the defined realm of duties. The responsibility committed to him was sufficient for Anselm. To travel the road of obedience brings its own adventures, to follow Christ the King on the King's Highway is to have neither time nor inclination for wandering far afield.

Called to be Archbishop of Canterbury, even as he had been called to be Abbot of Bec, despite his own burning desire for the life of the contemplative, the life active of the soul, the life intellectual, Anselm attended to his business, stuck to his post; and by so doing wrought valiantly for freedom and won the day in a conflict with the cleverest of the Conqueror's sons. The same conflict was renewed with the grandson, Henry of Anjou, and not by argument but by martyrdom did St. Thomas win.

Clear thinking gave Anselm the immense advantage of knowing his case in this question — a puzzling question to his episcopal brethren — of the rival claims of King and Pope.

Clear thinking alone would have profited little if Anselm had not charity also. The charity that does not fail. His warm heart and tender affection, wounded by the savage discourtesies of the Red King and his minions, chilled by the timid want of understanding among his suffragans, prevailed to the end. The love of Anselm for his kind — and indeed for all created beings, as witness his protesting championship of the hunted hare — was something outside the experience of his contemporaries, something incredible, supernatural, miraculous. Disinterested, Anselm's love, not seeking its own, not looking for a return, burning steadily with the unchanging steadfast-

ness of great good will, was a love irresistible and invincible in the long run. Men who counted themselves his enemies and professed themselves in hatred to Anselm succumbed to the patient charity of the wise old Archbishop; as the monks, jealous of him when he was chosen Prior of Bec, were conquered by the charity, so free from ambition and from envy, of their youthful prior. Fat Hugh, the turbulent Earl of Chester, loved the Archbishop from his Norman days. Many another fierce fighting man, trained in the ways of war, knowing neither mercy nor pity in his warfare, felt in the presence of Anselm that they stood before a man of God. The charity of Anselm made him — and these tough Norman warriors saw it — more fearless than the stoutest knight; for he had the charity that thinketh no evil and is therefore without fear. That stark and bitter Norman, Robert, Count of Meulan, who maintained the Norman kings of England were his true lords and had little use for popes or priests of any kind, was convinced by Anselm's humility, by the charity neither puffed up nor ambitious, and finally did reverence to the man of religion. Struck by the unexpected way the Archbishop went to sleep during the tumult at Rockingham, Count Robert discerned in him an unusual strength in meekness, but could not bring himself to offer friendship to Anselm till King Henry made peace. That disreputable clerk, Ranulf, the Torch, so long the plague of Anselm and of all good men, and the evil minister of the Red King, yielded to the Archbishop's charity, amended his ways, and died Bishop of Durham. So did that royal courier and king's messenger, envoy to the Pope and chaplain at the court, William of Warelwast, whom Anselm consecrated bishop.

Wise and fearless, filled with the charity that beareth all things, Anselm came among them, a stranger from northern Italy, a monk from Bec; and Norman and Saxon, king and peasant, bishops who had bought their bishoprics, ruffianly knights, hard-bitten lords of war, foul-living men and fair, wanted him for their Archbishop, would have him, and so got him. They failed him often, barons and bishops, they refused his wisdom and neglected his counsel, not understanding the high purpose of his mind. Archbishop Anselm seemed to them impractical, a visionary; at times more than one of his suffragans would gladly have seen the last of him in England. A saint and therefore not pliable, such a man as chief bishop of the Church in England made things difficult for weaker minds when the sons of William the Conqueror ruled the land.

And yet he conquered them in the end, these worldly bishops, so that they mourned his absence, conquered them by the wise charity of his life.

To the fighting men, this wise and gentle Archbishop, so pure in heart, so firm, so free from the miserable failings of common men and so unaware that he was different, wanting nothing for himself when all around him priests intrigued for benefices, as greedy for lands as laymen were; so obviously sincere and utterly without hypocrisy in his religion — this Anselm was what a Christian priest should be. Many who had known him first in Normandy, as Prior Anselm of Bec, Abbot Anselm, proclaimed his virtues. They found him the same Anselm in England, unchanged by becoming an Archbishop. Of course, they could not see eye to eye with their Archbishop

over this dispute with the King, for they were king's men and the Pope was far off. But Anselm was their Archbishop, and the constant witness to truth, to purity, to the spiritual and supernatural. Very darkly, and with sight dimmed and blurred, they saw the vision of God, His truth, His justice, His awful purity. Their Archbishop saw it; they knew it, these Norman fighting men, of scarred and blunted conscience, and hands red with blood; and he stood before them as God's high priest, to make atonement. Anselm and his monks would plead for them to God when their sins called for vengeance and they cried to God for mercy in the hour of need. The brutish, lustful existence of the feudal lord, stained with a thousand offences, was not the highest life of man; they recognised that, these Norman fighting men, so that with sickness and the approach of death, their pride toppled in the dust, and from their hearts came the prayer of the publican, the cry "God be merciful to me, a sinner." With no complacency did these sinful men-at-arms call upon God and thank Him for the good works they had done in the flesh. God's mercy was their one cry, and in the hope of mercy they left lands and gifts, endowed churches and monasteries, that holy men and women might forever pray to God to have mercy on their souls. It never occurred to these Normans that they should raise memorials in self-esteem to departed knights, to deceased barons. Memorials were erected to the saints, to Our Lady, the Mother of God, in especial; hence, England came to be called "Our Lady's Dowry," so vast a portion of the land was dedicated to her honour.

Feudal soldiers, earls, knights, and the rest, were sin-

ners and knew themselves for sinners; men in great need of prayers for the pardon of God when death brought them to the judgment of God. Sinners were not helped by the erection of imposing memorials, it was prayers they were helped by, the prayers of the righteous. Their lives were ill spent by comparison with such a life as Archbishop Anselm's; they knew it, these Norman lords, even as Herlwin knew his life wasted when in the days of youthful knighthood he turned from soldiering in Normandy to become a monk and the founder of the monastery at Bec.

Anselm, their Archbishop, was their father in God. At the best, before God they were erring men, the Norman lords, sure of not utterly losing the way while they had Anselm to guide them, hoping in God's pardon at the end while they had Anselm's holy monks and nuns to pray for them. No self-complacency nor unctuous self-esteem marked the death of the lords of Normandy. They cried God's mercy.

The deathbed complacency of eminent persons (by no means to be confused with the deathbed cheerfulness of martyrs and other penitent servants of God) is a phenomenon that appears at a later period of the Christian era. In modern times eminent financiers and distinguished holders of vast riches, so far from crying for God's mercy at the approach of death, are apt to murder themselves, fearful because their unjust dealings can no longer be hidden, or else to publish a list of their benefactions to mankind. No doubt "progress" makes it harder and harder for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven — for riches have more power as money finds more and more things

to buy — so that in the twentieth century it is rarely recorded of a dying millionaire that he sought to enter the Kingdom of Heaven by doing penance.

Nine hundred years ago the mightiest of feudal lords were conscious that they must humble themselves before God and do penance; with the cry "God be merciful to me, a sinner," they prayed forgiveness while there was yet time for repentance, before death took them.

To-day power and riches are evidence of success; if successful, what have we to be penitent about? Rather, it seems, we should thank God that we do not die as the unsuccessful — in poverty. And that we should thank God further, in the name of "progress" that we are not as these publicans of Norman times; that our ministers of religion in the "best" churches are practical Christians, enlightened Protestants, and not as this St. Anselm — of whom many of us have never heard.

Sanctity flourishes and is discerned where men and women know themselves for sinners, know their need of mercy. The penitent, the publicans of all trades and professions, quickly, instinctively recognise sanctity; recognise it as a quality they do not possess; and kneel wistfully and with reverence before a holiness that they feel can never be theirs. Seeing holiness as an impossible glory, reserved for saints, pertaining to the supernatural.

On the other hand, the thick and often impenetrable self-complacency of the pharisee produces a "modern culture" which is not by any means congenial to the growth of sanctity. For the self-complacent, the pharisee, thanking God for all the well-earned privileges bestowed upon him and for his own godly, not to say exemplary life, un-

aware of shortcomings — obvious to his neighbours — entertains no serious notion of other people being holier than himself, and is inclined to resent the suggestion that he lacks the virtue of the saints. He has rivals, that much the self-satisfied, self-complacent man will admit. Rivals in commerce, in politics, in finance, at the bar, and on the stage. He is not out-rivalled in goodness. There are people richer than himself; richer but not better if you have riches enough. That a poor man might be a man better off than a successful rich man seems absurd to the latter. That to be poor when one might be rich is to choose with Christ — even more absurd! That a poor man may have nothing and yet possess all things in the communism of religion, and so fare better than the rich man who has nothing but his riches — quite incomprehensible!

Sanctity is not looked for where pervading self-complacency blandly explains that it “has no use” for penance. What growth in holiness is possible when self-satisfaction sees no cause for repentance?

Men and women in the time of St. Anselm felt the Kingdom of God to be close at hand.

It would seem that in the passage of nearly a thousand years, with its progress and civilisation, holiness and the following of Christ have become less accessible to the average man. Perhaps it is because the self-satisfaction and the absorbing interest in mechanical invention are so general that the vision of God is blurred; hence the increasing difficulty of discerning the sanctity and holiness that are the very salt of the earth and the light of the world.

The unenlightened Normans and English most certainly recognised the holiness of St. Anselm, their Arch-

bishop. Contemporary evidence asserts it as fact. Of his philosophy they were, no doubt, content to be ignorant. The sanctity of Anselm; his holiness of mind, and purity of soul; his utter disinterestedness and the sincerity of his counsel; his tenderness to all creatures—in all these a character was revealed as of one set apart from his fellows, one who walked with God. They had the grace, these Normans, who for the most part disdained to read or write, to know him for a man of God and a great high priest of God, Anselm their Archbishop.

These brutish, passionate, unenlightened feudal lords from Normandy (not without skill in architecture and a sense of law) knew their Archbishop of Canterbury for a saint. The moral influence of Anselm's character on men of the world, and indeed on all who frequented his company, is reported. History does not challenge the truth of the report. Only by hardening their hearts could men, such as William, the Red King, and the basest of his courtiers, resist that influence.

The wider and greater influence of Anselm, the philosopher and theologian, touched in his own day men of religion athirst for learning and patiently serving truth; and continued, a vital influence.

Anselm with his insistence on the accurate use of words, on the necessity for thinking clearly, on knowing what we really mean when we make use of certain phrases and familiar sentences; Anselm with his keen determination that the ground of our faith shall be reasonably stated, is the first of the great doctors of the Middle Ages.

Not for him is the glib and easy recitation of the eternal verities; they are no shibboleths, these words that define

the highest hopes of man. Not for him is the vague emptiness of the unthinking. He will not rest satisfied, St. Anselm, till we have looked all around the saving doctrine of the Church, considered the objections raised against its acceptance, examined the difficulties that crop up in every age. We cannot comprehend the deep mysteries of God, Unity in Trinity, Trinity in Unity; the reconciliation of free will and God's foreknowledge; Atonement and Redemption. St. Anselm would have us apprehend. The faith is reasonable. It is an anticipation of the mightier work of the thirteenth-century scholastics, this method of Anselm's, with its dialogue and pro and con. The very freedom of discussion that belonged to the Middle Ages, submerged when heresy brought intolerance in its train and hardly yet restored, is employed by Anselm as a matter of course.

"Anselm, that soul incomparably sweet yet strong, who in his zeal to reach true *understanding* from the starting point of *faith*, practically began the scholastic method. In him an exquisite and intuitionist spirituality is mated with a keen intelligence. His philosophy is shot with meditation; almost with ecstasy. It is his *delight to reason* upon his faith."*

Thus Anselm appears to a scholar of our own time. Thus Anselm shines like a great orb of light across the centuries, burning true and clear. Dear to us as he was to the friends and disciples who knew him in the days of his earthly pilgrimage.

Dear not only to all lovers of truth, and of the true way

*C. C. Martindale, S.J., *Catholic Thought and Thinkers* (London, 1920).

of looking at things of the mind, but dear to all lovers of political freedom. The Oxford historians of the nineteenth century, Stubbs, Freeman, J. R. Green, F. York Powell, wrote with no favour to the Catholic Church, but they appreciated the service of St. Anselm to the cause of justice and freedom.

"Anselm was truly a great man. So good that he was held a saint in his very life time, so meek that even his enemies honoured him, so wise that he was the foremost thinker of his day and the forerunner of the greatest philosophers of ours."*

As for the books written about St. Anselm, his life and his philosophy, they are far too numerous to be set down. Books by German writers, by French (notably *Historie de St. Anselme*, by Père Ragey, 1890); by Spanish and Italian; by Christians and non-Christians. A few English writers might also be named, were a complete bibliography of St. Anselm attempted.

It is Eadmer, the monk of Canterbury, the devoted secretary and companion of St. Anselm, to whom posterity is indebted for its full knowledge of St. Anselm's life. For Anselm told Eadmer many things of his boyhood and of the years at Bec, and the biography written by Eadmer remains the real authority.**

A great number of St. Anselm's letters — and he found time especially at Bec to attend to an immense correspondence — may be read in Migne's *Patrologia Cursus Completus*.

*F. York Powell, *History of England* (1885).

**This work is bound with Eadmer's *Historia Novorum in Anglia*, and published in the Rolls series.

All that is in this new account of St. Anselm has been turned into English from Eadmer and Migne; all except a few items that are mentioned by later and supplementary English writers.

Historical research has enabled us to see clearly the real issue of Anselm and the kings of England with whom he came in conflict; and two recent volumes, *The English Church and the Papacy, 1066-1200*, by Z. N. Brooke, and *The First Century of Feudalism*, by F. M. Stenton, are particularly illuminating.

No research diminishes the glory of Anselm nor tarnishes his fame. *Ecce sacerdos magnus qui in diebus suis placuit Deo, et inventus est justus; et in tempore iracundiae factus est reconciliatio.* ("Behold a great priest who in his days pleased God and was found just; and in the time of wrath was made a reconciliation.")

He is still the great priest no less than the great philosopher, while time shall last, the comrade of all who seek freedom and serve truth.

It is perhaps worth while to ponder once more the life and works of this so rare a man, St. Anselm of Canterbury. No Englishman by birth or blood, he brought to England and to all men of good will in every land the finest gifts of life and spent himself without stint, fulfilling his charge.

J. C.

Billingshurst,
Sussex, England, 1932.

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I

THE AGE OF ST. ANSELM

Each age has its own problems, its own unrest. In every age the rulers of the world, now in this direction now in that, encroach upon the Kingdom of God. Sometimes the conflict is within the frontiers of God's Kingdom on earth, at other times the pressure comes from hostile forces without. More than once in the history of the Christian Church, Rome itself, the very centre of Christendom, is stricken by disease, depressed and brought low by pontiffs unworthy of the throne of the papacy, smitten and wasted by enemies of the Pope. Common human failings, sins and crimes, follies and mistakes of prelates raised to the chair of St. Peter, and plainly in our later sight unsuitably chosen, are heavily visited on their successors and on the whole people of God. If the mistakes and follies of political rulers, with the failings of enfranchised citizens, must needs be paid for — and history tells of no final or successful evasion of the debt — graver are the penalties when popes transgress. They cannot err, the worst of popes, when high teaching on faith and morals to the entire world is required of them, nor does it seem they are ever called upon to give such teaching; but frailty and corruption in the Holy See play havoc with the peace and unity of the body of Christ, and a sorry harvest is reaped when the untilled field has flowered.

Renewal of life and reform follow every period of papal corruption, for the rock is not to be broken. Nevertheless, when the bill of costs and damages, incurred irresponsibly by previous occupants of the see of Peter, is presented, the popes zealous for reform and restoration are hard pressed to recover freedom. And if the history of mankind is a history of human effort to achieve freedom, the history of the Catholic Church is a history of the Christian people seeking peace in the will of God, the freedom to live justly and to worship in obedience to the law of God.

The age of St. Anselm is a period of reform — the seventy-six years of his life on earth (1033-1109) — a time of strife and bitter struggle, since strife and struggle inevitably accompany reform within the Church. It is also a period of revival in the intellectual life of Christendom, and the time of the first crusade; the beginning of the long war against the hosts of Islam that threatened destruction from without.

The papacy, at its lowest in the tenth century, emerging slowly from unspeakable degradation, was once more ruled by pontiffs inspired for the work of reform. The era of Hildebrand (Pope St. Gregory VII) began with Nicholas II in 1058. The synod of Rome in the first year of his reign decreed that the Pope should henceforth be elected by the cardinals alone. The papacy should be no more the prey of powerful families, the Pope no more a subject of kings. The reform was fiercely contested. Till the end of the eleventh century the emperors disputed the sovereignty of the reigning and properly elected Pope, set up their own nominees — plaguing the hearts of the faithful with these anti-popes — and contended for feudal rights

disastrous to the discipline of the Church, fatal to the spiritual order.

The intellectual revival visible in the stir of fresh activity in the monastic life, the questioning from the rationalist standpoint of the sublime doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, the pondering how thought approaches faith, is nowhere more evident than at the abbey of Bec in Normandy. From Bec, Lanfranc asserted the orthodox belief in the Real Presence and answered effectively the wrong notion of Berengar of Tours, preparing the way for the clear definition of transubstantiation and Corpus Christi celebrations. At Bec, was Anselm himself, whose name is with the revival for all time identified, and the history of philosophy associated. Anselm bridges the gap between the monks who, with their interest in the classical Latin authors, kept alive the literature of the past, and the coming men, enthusiastic for philosophy and the play of the mind, the exercise of intelligence.

"The culture of the eleventh and twelfth centuries was humanistic, the culture of the thirteenth century was scholastic."*

Anselm links the culture of the centuries. Yet he is conspicuously a man of original mind, a pioneer in realms of thought. Roscellinus, Abaelard, Peter Lombard follow, and we are on the threshold of Dominican studies where Aristotle is reborn.

The threat of destruction from without by the advance of Islam, a threat that brooded over Christendom for five hundred years, was felt when Jerusalem was stormed by

*Bede Jarrett, O.P., *A History of Europe* (1929).

the armies of the Seljukian Turk, the holy places deprived of the protection of the Christian emperors of the East. Constantinople, the Eastern empire and its Greek church, startled at the grim shadow of coming events, appealed to Rome for help, and Pope Urban II, at the council of Clermont (A.D. 1095), preached the first crusade. Then the men of Lorraine, led by Godfrey, Count of Boulogne; the Normans led by their Duke Robert, the Conqueror's eldest son, and Stephen, Count of Blois (the husband of Adela, St. Anselm's friend, and Robert's sister), with others chiefly from France, marched eastwards across Hungary, and Jerusalem was for the time delivered, the shadow gone. But the Turkish armies would return and, long after St. Anselm was dead, the followers of Mohammed would hold the holy places, overrun and conquer eastern Europe, in the face of the divisions of Christendom.

It was the mission of the Greek bishops to Pope Urban that occasioned St. Anselm, in exile in Rome, to plead to these separated brethren the reasonableness of the Latin phraseology in the Nicean creed. The Greeks listened, applauded, and went home. The schism of the Eastern Church remained unhealed.

The issue within the Catholic Church, in Anselm's time an irritating sore vexing the peace of its soul, was the inheritance bequeathed by former popes and emperors. It is known as the question of investiture: was the investing of bishops with ring and crosier, the insignia of office, to be done by lay princes or by the Pope? It is an engagement in the struggle between feudal authority and spiritual rule,

this issue, a campaign in the long warfare of Church and State.

The scandals that called to heaven for reform in the Church, scandals that Hildebrand and all decent men, priests and laymen alike, sought to end, were three: (1) simony, the buying and selling of bishoprics, abbacies, and benefices; (2) the bishoprics left without bishops, the abbeys left without abbots, while princes received and spent the revenues of these estates of the Church and squandered its wealth; to make matters worse when they filled the vacancy by appointing clerks who were royal favourites, or warriors of doubtful and occasionally of notoriously evil character, to high but impoverished positions in the Church; (3) an illiterate parochial clergy that broke the priest's vow of celibacy by taking wives or concubines.

These scandals, glaring and shameful in the eleventh century, when the spirit of reform kindled the hearts of the faithful, had their roots in the feudal system that made bishops and abbots, as landowners, the vassals of king or emperor. With this feudal system invading the sanctuary the reformed papacy of Hildebrand and his successors was at strife.

Such a man as William the Conqueror saw no necessary connection between the feudalism here represented and the scandals of simony, unworthy prelates, an ignorant clergy, and married clerks. Both in Normandy and in England he proved himself in earnest for the reform of the Church, choosing the best men available for bishoprics and abbeys, removing slack and illiterate English bishops and abbots, recognising the goodness and holiness

of an English St. Wulstan at Worcester and a St. Anselm in Normandy, the sincerity, learning, and efficiency of Lanfranc; supporting every effort of Lanfranc to hold the clergy to celibacy. What more could be done by the Pope for the health of the Church than he, William of Normandy, was doing? The papacy of his boyhood and youth encouraged no safe assurance that the Pope could look after the Church in the far-off dominions ruled by William. He mistrusted papal interference in those dominions and resented all claims that seemed to override his feudal lordship. The spiritual supremacy of the Pope was not questioned. The Conqueror could not see that this spiritual supremacy was concerned with the authority over bishops and abbots in temporal matters. Lanfranc, learned in canon law, of course knew all that papal supremacy implied. But it worked so well in the reform of the Church, the absolutism of the Conqueror, that Lanfranc without any open disobedience to Hildebrand, though not without rebuke from the Pope for neglect of loyalty to the Holy See, stood by feudal rule and evaded successfully all conflict with Rome.

The evil was manifest to Anselm, who had grown up in the reformed papacy and knew no other. The Red King, no reformer like his father, in the exercise of his kingly powers ravaged the Church, plundering where he would; and for morals let the flesh have its way and the devil work his will. Nevertheless, Anselm, being a monk, a religious of the order of St. Benedict,* his mind, set on

*No uniform rule in Benedictine monasteries must be looked for in the eleventh century. "Customs" varied.

the contemplation of the profound questions of rational belief in the existence of God, the relation of free-will to God's foreknowledge, why God became man for man's redemption, would not be distracted by questions of feudal systems and relations of pope and king. As when the first crusade was preached Anselm's work was not to send men fighting the Turk, but to seek to draw the Greek Church back into the papal unity, for in that unity and only in that unity could Palestine, Constantinople, and the east of Europe be saved from the Turk, while in the disunity the Turk triumphed, so in all this controversy over investiture Anselm keeps to one point — he must obey the Pope. Obedience to the Pope and to the decrees of councils called by the Pope is all that is laid upon him as Archbishop of Canterbury. He has nothing to say, and nothing is said in all Anselm's letters, upon the question of investiture. Yet by sticking to his point, not being dragged into discussions of limits of royal absolutism, or the significance of ring and crozier, Anselm did actually carry the day in England and win a victory for the freedom of the Church and the just liberties of Christian men.

The opposition of the Emperor Henry IV and the sons of William the Conqueror to the reforming popes and the decrees against lay investitures, was based on no ground of service to the Church. Neither was there pretence that flagrant scandals were abolished while these monarchs enjoyed the privilege of investing bishops and abbots of their choice with the insignia of office, thereby binding them as vassals of the crown. Pride and personal and political considerations formed the ground of the opposition. To allow

that bishops and abbots were other than the king's vassals was not to be endured.

The Emperor with vast regions in Italy, must be crowned by the Pope — a Church without the papacy was unthinkable; the emperor himself would set up a pope for that purpose as he set up Guibert, Archbishop of Ravenna, to be Clement III — known in history as an anti-pope. Had not former emperors in their day commanded the obedience of popes and settled the succession? The fact that the papacy, with a renewed spiritual strength and independence under Gregory VII and Urban II, afflicted no longer by the contemptible weakness of an earlier century, was once more the light and health of Europe seemed no reason to the emperor for yielding to papal power and influence.

All who held lands from king or emperor were bound to render service, as vassals of the crown, in return. To invest bishops and abbots personally was to bind them to the crown. A mystical bond, it was felt, existed in this investiture.*

Bishops and abbots, it was argued, must be the feudal subjects of the king because they held lands from the king; their lands were donations from the crown. By the surrender of investiture the king would lose the right to

*In countries to-day where honours are conferred by sovereign rulers and investitures of knighthood and other distinctions still take place, a mystical bond between the recipient and the sovereign is still created. The person honoured is bound by personal loyalty to support the crown. The prime minister or other officer of the state may be responsible for the royal favour bestowed; the investiture by the king binds the person honoured to the king's loyal service.

command the services of these prelates when he needed them. Further, the civil ministers of the crown were clerks in holy orders. Laymen of landed property not being clerks, were soldiers. A bishopric was the natural reward for a good civil servant. Thus the Red King rewarded the clerks of his establishment. Once investiture by the crown was given up, the outward sign of the royal bounty disappeared, the king's patronage diminished.

Of course to the popes, grappling strenuously with the scandals of the age, this business of lay investiture made all hope of reform impossible. The bishops so invested did become the king's vassals; the fact was plain. They were great barons, grand gentlemen, prince bishops; not recognisably shepherds of Christ's flock, nor stewards of the mysteries of God. Simony could not be extinguished while bishoprics, abbacies, canonries, and rich benefices were to be had by gaining the royal favour. A handsome present or some particular piece of useful service to the crown was the surest method of winning preferment in the Church. Only under William the Conqueror and his great-grandson, Henry of Anjou — in his later years — were bishops chosen for their fitness. The general standard of holiness and of intelligence among the hierarchy of England in the middle ages was not conspicuously high. It would have been immeasurably lower had not the popes successfully resisted the feudal claim to investiture.

Besides, it was another obstacle to the abolition of long vacancies in bishoprics and abbacies if royal investiture was a necessary preliminary to appointment. And how could it be hoped that the clergy of remote country par-

ishes would be spurred to learning or encouraged to live chastely while the example of many a royal favourite, raised to the seats of the episcopate, disedified the faithful?

Was King Philip of France, living in open and notorious adultery, so that at last Pope Urban must needs declare him excommunicated, to be allowed to invest the chief shepherds of Christ's flock with the insignia of their sacred office? The idea was intolerable. Pope Urban II maintained the strong line taken by Hildebrand and in spite of the anti-pope's activities, much fighting and bloodshed, did at last die in peace within the city of Rome. His successor, Pascal II, weakened and compromised, allowing homage by bishops to the crown. The final settlement came in 1122, when Pope Calixtus II and the Emperor Henry V made the Concordat of Worms. By this agreement the Emperor gave up all investiture by ring and crozier and granted freedom of election and free consecration of bishops throughout the empire. The Pope on his side granted that election of bishops and abbots in all Germany should take place in the Emperor's presence without simony or violence, and that in the event of dispute, after taking counsel with the bishops, the Emperor should give his support to the most suitable candidate.

Forty-six years before in this same city of Worms Pope Gregory VII had solemnly excommunicated the Emperor Henry IV and declared him deposed. And Henry had gone to Canossa, professing penitence and begging Hugh, the great Abbot of Cluny, and Matilda, great Countess of Tuscany, to intercede for him with the Pope. Henry, pardoned, lived to violate all promises and Hildebrand died in exile.

So — in the providence of God — the contest fluctuated, now fortune helping the feudal, now the papal attitude. But steady advance can be registered in the Concordat of Worms. The cause for which Anselm strove, the freedom of the Church from the rule of princes, the spiritual welfare of the nations in obedience to the Pope, was not to be challenged till, four hundred years later, the disruption of Christendom, curiously miscalled the "Reformation," followed another period of papal corruption.

With whom rested the appointment of bishops was not directly raised, nor finally settled. The monks of Christchurch, Canterbury, always insisted theirs was the privilege of electing the archbishop; but it is certain they accepted many times the nominees of the crown, and more than once, as with the appointment of Stephen Langton, the Pope overruled both the monks and the crown. But the influence of the crown was commonly sufficient for the person named by the king in any English diocese to be elected bishop. On the continent, in Germany, in the territories of the Emperor, in France, and in Spain, no interference with the appointments to bishoprics made by the crown (save in very exceptional cases) took place; with the result that bishops may be found throughout the centuries acting in opposition to the papacy. The patronage of the crown became in France particularly disastrous to the Christian religion. Only with the nineteenth century does Rome take the burden and responsibility for the naming of bishops in every diocese throughout the world. And when criticism is directed against the centralisation of the Catholic Church in this matter of appointments to bishop-

rics the verdict of history confirms the wisdom of such restriction. Modern governments are affected by political considerations, by party intrigues, by that fleeting and unstable thing called "public opinion." Mediæval kings proved themselves not to be trusted in the selection of the right men for bishops; later, French kings more than others treated bishoprics as rewards for profane court favourites. Could a twentieth-century government in any land discern more clearly than its predecessors the spiritual needs of the Catholic Church?

The freedom of the Church, the freedom of the people of God to follow after justice, is hampered by the interference of the state in ecclesiastical concerns. The freedom is enlarged when the final decision in the fillings of sees is lodged with the Supreme Pontiff.

And the freedom of the Church is forever threatened, now in this quarter, now in that; the freedom of Catholics to practise their religion is never unmenaced by hostile forces. The part played by St. Anselm in the cause of freedom brought him in the end an exceedingly honourable distinction. It has earned him enduring honour in the history of Europe. It was not a part he sought to play, Anselm the monk of Bec; for he was before all a theologian and a philosopher, whose studies lay deeply in the Sacred Scriptures and the writings of St. Augustine, whose meditations contemplated the mysteries of God and the operations of the human mind.

So meditating and so filled with the charity of God Anselm stood fearless before kings in an age hardly less violent than our own. He bore patiently all personal

wrongs and disappointments. Injuries to others: to school-boys suffering at the hands of wrong-headed schoolmasters; to unhappy beings sold as slaves by their fellow Catholics, and carried from one Christian land to another; to the hare hunted in sport; Anselm bore less patiently.

II

BOYHOOD

Anselm was born in the cathedral city of Aosta, A.D. 1033. The day of his birth is doubtful.

Modern travellers know it well, Aosta, that old Roman city of the valleys in the heart of the western Alps, for it is hard by the ascent to the passes of St. Bernard. Long a battle ground of emperors and kings, the county of Aosta was in Anselm's time but recently added to the Empire. It was part of the dominions of the house of Savoy, the dowry that Adelaide, the Duchess of Savoy, brought to her husband, Humbert of the white hands, Count of Maurienne. (From Adelaide and Humbert the house of Savoy, and hence the present reigning house of Italy, is descended.)

Gundulf, a Lombard, well-born, lavish in expenditure, fiercely set on having his own way, and a man of strong will and purpose was Anselm's father. Ermenberg, Anselm's mother, was related to the counts of Maurienne. She had two brothers, Lambert and Polcerad, Church dignitaries both; two nephews, Peter and Folcerad, and two cousins, Aimon and Rainald. They are but names. We know nothing more of Anselm's relatives. He had no brothers and only one sister Richera, who married and settled in the neighbourhood of Aosta. Richera was several years younger than Anselm.

From the valiant woman, his mother, Ermenberg, An-

selm in childhood learnt of God, and the boy grew up fervent and studious; thoughtful beyond his years. Without companions in infancy, with no elder brother to instruct him in children's games and initiate him into the sports of boyhood, surrounded by the high mountains, their peaks for ever crowned with snow, Anselm was a serious child, shy, reclusive, and imaginative; filled with a boyish enthusiasm for religion, an apt scholar, and fond of poetry.

A dream that Anselm had when he was quite a little child was so vivid that he never forgot it, and long afterwards he told it to his chaplain and secretary Eadmer, who wrote it down. His mother so often spoke to him of God, who ruled all things, dwelling in heaven, that it seemed to the small boy heaven must be somewhere at the top of the big mountains above his home; that God's house, the palace of the great King, would be up there, and that to find God — and he wished very much, this small child, to find God — one must go on and on, up the mountains till one came to the top. Thinking of God, the great King, dwelling up there in His palace at the top of the mountains, above the very highest peaks, Anselm dreamed one night that he was on his way up the mountains, hastening as fast as he could to find the King's palace. But first in his dream he had to cross a wide plain at the foot of the mountains and there he saw a number of maidens reaping the corn, for it was autumn and these maidens were the King's servants. So indolently and negligently were they doing the work of their Master that Anselm was shocked and felt obliged to rebuke them for their idleness, making up his mind that he would tell the King how badly His

work was being done. Then on he went, in his dream, and up and up, till at last he reached the very top of the mountain and there he found the palace of the King and the King Himself. And the King was all alone, except for the chief butler; for no one else was in the royal palace, since everybody was out gathering the harvest. The King called to the boy to come to Him and Anselm went into the palace and sat at the King's feet. Then the King asked him in the kindest and gentlest manner who he was, where he came from, and what he wanted. And Anselm answered truthfully. Presently the chief butler at the King's command, brought bread of the very whitest flour for the boy to eat and there in the presence of the Lord, Anselm ate his bread and enjoyed it.

That was the end of the dream, and when he woke up in the morning the dream was as clear as though it had actually happened, so that Anselm in his innocence and simplicity, really believed he had been in heaven and that God had truly given him bread to eat and that he had eaten it and been greatly refreshed. He told everybody so and felt sure he had seen God.

In the early years of boyhood Anselm was drawn more and more to study — there was a Benedictine priory at Aosta where he would have gone to school — so that before he was fifteen he had decided that for him the ideal life could only be lived in a monastery and therefore he would become a monk.

But to Anselm's father the idea of his son and heir entering a monastery was intolerable, and Gundulf simply would not have it. In vain Anselm wrote to an abbot of the neighbourhood with whom he was acquainted and

asked to be accepted as a novice, the abbot dared not offend an important man like Gundulf and explained that the father's consent must be obtained before the boy could be admitted.

Then Anselm prayed that he might fall sick, for he thought his father seeing him enfeebled and wasted would out of compassion relent and grant his request. Illness overtook him and Anselm was seriously ill and his friend the abbot was sent for. But Gundulf refused to give way, however ill his son might be, and the abbot could do nothing until the father's veto was removed. After a time Anselm recovered from his sickness and with the return of health he gave up the plan he had cherished of becoming a monk. His eagerness for the study of letters relaxed, the pursuit of learning no longer attracted him. The things of the world in that city of Aosta now proved to be of interest to the disappointed boy. While his mother lived Anselm stayed at home. It was only when Ermenberg died and family disputes followed that all the ties that held Anselm to his native town were loosed. The son of Gundulf could not view the affairs of life from his father's standpoint at all.

In the summer of 1057, when Anselm was twenty-three, he decided to travel and see the world. He left home for good, as many a Lombard did in the eleventh century. With a single clerk for companion and attendant Anselm set out, crossing the Mount Cenis pass. The zest for learning was renewed in the years of travel. For a while he lingered in Burgundy; but Normandy was reached at last and after staying at Avranches, where Lanfranc, the man of learning, who came from Pavia, had once been the at-

traction of students, Anselm pushed on to the famous abbey of Bec, where the great Lanfranc was now prior; Bec, renowned above all abbeys for its learning.

Altogether these travels of Anselm had taken nearly three years; years of a wandering scholar, uneventful as far as any record tells. Nothing happened that Anselm judged worthy of remembrance between leaving home and arriving at Bec. He was twenty-six when he entered the abbey of Bec, and he came as a scholar and student to this seat of learning, with no conscious purpose of becoming a monk.

III

THE ABBEY OF BEC

In all ages and in all lands has the call to a closer following of the counsels of God sounded to men and women. Of the many called few are chosen. For it is one thing to turn from the world and its vanities, to tire of the strife and clash of arms, to forsake the comforts (and distractions) of family life, to leave the service and rewards of kings and earthly princes in the quest of the soul's peace, and another thing to gain by obedience the freedom that belongs to the servants of God, to exult in the perfect freedom found nowhere save in the will surrendered to the will of God.

The Normans, impetuous, adventurous, passionate in their hates and loves, and but recently converted from the paganism of their fore-fathers, built many a monastery in that corner of France which they had conquered and made their own. These houses, filled with men sick of fighting and bloodshed, counted monks devout rather than learned in the eleventh century.*

The monastery at Bec was different. It was renowned for its learning no less than for its piety. It was not founded, established, and endowed as thank offering for mercies received or expiation for sins committed, wherein others

*The abbeys of Jumièges, St. Evroul, and Fécamp may at once be named. The influence of the great reform of Cluny affected all these monasteries and more.

might work out their own salvation and pray for the donor. It was not an offshoot of Cluny. Herlwin, the founder of Bec, simply wanted a hermitage where he and one or two companions might give themselves to prayer and the praise of God, and might live by the labour of their hands. Herlwin, a knight of Normandy and brave soldier, holding several manors under his feudal lord, Count Gilbert of Brionne, who was of the ducal house of Normandy, received the call to follow Christ in an obedience more faithful than man of arms could render.

There were but two professions open to Christian men at that time, the soldier's and the monk's. Some men, of course, combined the two, and abbots and priors were often enough at the head of the troops they provided for their feudal overlords. Just as bishops and other high dignitaries of the Church turned out with their retainers to do battle at the summons of their overlords, or to maintain their own rights by force of arms.

Herlwin was not of the class of warrior monks and fighting priests. For him — the strong, patient man, who must needs wait the consent of his overlord Count Gilbert — all this business of war, this continual waging of battle between Christian men, was an intolerable burden, a hateful existence. God had called him to turn from it and take up the life of religion. Herlwin was still a young man in the thirties when at last, reluctantly, Count Gilbert agreed to let him go. In the year 1033, the very year of Anselm's birth, Herlwin and his companions put off the armour of knights and in the habit of the sons of St. Benedict built their house of prayer.

The beginnings of the abbey of Bec, the monastery of

Our Lady, that was to enjoy for some fifty years the respect of all Christendom and win a memory imperishable while the world shall last, were geographically most unfavourable. The site on Herlwin's land at Bonneville-Appelot, northeast of Brionne, was bad; pathless and waterless; mere scrub and bush. Wood and water, prime necessities for every dwelling house, were hard to seek, for the river Rille was more than a mile away. Still they persevered, these resolute, conquering Normans, built house and church with their own hands, recited the prayer they knew by heart, and the day's work done, taught themselves to read and write. When three years later the church was finished, came Herbert, Bishop of Liseux, to dedicate it to the glory of God and to make a priest of Herlwin; who was also made Abbot of this new foundation, "for the house was so poor no one else was willing to become its ruler." Strictly did Herlwin and his monks keep the "customs" of St. Benedict, as they understood them; hard they strove to wrench a livelihood from the harsh and barren soil. After the daily office in choir the Abbot might be seen leading his companions into the open field, a bag of seed corn on his shoulder, a rake or mattock in his hand. Pioneers in a wilderness of thorns and briar, Herlwin's band of brothers cleansed the land and tilled it faithfully, returning to their abbey church at the appointed hours to recite the praises of God. Herlwin's mother, a noble Flemish lady, gave her lands to the community, and coming to live hard by served the brethren as a handmaid, washing their clothes and doing all that was asked of her.

Not until six years after the foundation was the abbey

moved. Because of the need of water Abbot Herlwin chose a site where the Rille is joined near Port Authon by a smaller stream called Le Bec. And from this bec or brook the abbey took its name; St. Mary of the stream, the abbey of Le Bec. It was swampy, marshy ground, this second site, with wooded land rising all round. And gradually while the monastery was in building the various owners of the wood, including Count Gilbert, presented or sold their property to the Abbot. When a storm destroyed the wooden-pillared cloisters, Abbot Herlwin had them rebuilt of stone.

It was to this second house of devoted, hard-working monks, a house of prayer and toil, but not yet of learning, that Lanfranc came in 1042, and by his coming enlarged its bounds.

Lanfranc was a Lombard and a scholar, a clerk who had mastered civil law and the canons of the Church at Pavia. And Lanfranc travelling in Normandy, from Avranches, where he had many pupils, to Rouen, found his journey abruptly stopped and not to be resumed. For the traveller, no feudal lord but a mere scholar, alone, without a single companion, was held up by a gang of outlawed men who had their dwelling place in the thick woods where the wolves howled in winter, the woods to the west of Herlwin's abbey.

The robbers took his money and then left him, with hands behind his back and hood drawn over his eyes, tied to a tree. In this forlorn state, despoiled and helpless, in an unknown land, Lanfranc remained while the daylight passed and the night came down. There through the short summer night he stayed, a prisoner, and would

have beguiled the dreary hours of darkness by reciting prayers and psalms, but to his dismay he found he could remember nothing.

Lanfranc, shocked at what seemed to him a shameful thing, that he a priest, with all his love of letters, his years of study and knowledge of law, had not a single word of praise stored in his mind, no verse of hymn or psalter, thereupon vowed solemnly to God that should he be delivered from his present adversities and his life spared, he would give himself to the service of the Divine Majesty. And not in some famous and highly esteemed monastery, but in the first small and undistinguished house of religion, would he become a monk. The vow, made in wretchedness and misery, in the darkness of night and in the thicket of the Normandy forest, was most faithfully kept. At dawn Lanfranc heard the voices of men passing hard by on the road, and at his calling out to them to come and help him, they came and quickly released him from his bonds. Then Lanfranc asked his deliverers to direct him to the humblest monastery in that part of the country, and at once they told him of Bec and showed him the way.

To Bec, to the abbey of St. Mary of the stream, went Lanfranc, seeking to enter it because he was told it was the lowliest and poorest house of religion in all that countryside. Admitted by the porter — poverty was not allowed to hinder Abbot Herlwin's practise of hospitality — Lanfranc was brought into the presence of the Abbot, who was busy working with his own hands at the building of an oven.

"God save you, father," said Lanfranc as he approached. "And God's blessing be on you, my son," the Abbot an-

swered. "Are you a Lombard?" "I am," Lanfranc replied. "And what do you want?" "I want to become a monk."

Then the Abbot called to one of the brethren, who was at work close by and told him to fetch the book of the rule for the postulant to read. And Lanfranc when he had read the rule said that with the help of God he would keep it gladly.

Lanfranc, not more than thirty-seven when he entered the monastery of Bec, stayed there twenty years — the first three spent in the background of a strict novitiate. But Herlwin recognised an exceptional man in this Lombard scholar and saw him as the instrument of God, a monk by whom the abbey should become a place of learning no less than place of prayer and hard manual labor. Unlettered himself, Abbot Herlwin had an immense respect for scholarship; "What does it profit a man who is ignorant alike of the commands of God and of letters?" Herlwin would ask his monks; he would enquire anxiously which of them had a well-balanced mind, a tenacious memory, which one was a ready learner.

In that eleventh-century renaissance, when so many monasteries had their schools, an enthusiasm for study brought wandering students to abbey doors, as in centuries to come it brought them to universities and Herlwin made the most of Lanfranc. The novitiate over, he was soon appointed Prior, and then Bec had its school.

From the swampy ground the abbey moved to a new site, a mile away upstream, and there the humble monastery which Lanfranc had sought grew into the famous place of learning. The new site, with its ample woods and

sheltered by rising ground, was the gift of Gilbert, Count of Brionne, Herlwin's old feudal lord.

Many were the students who came to this abbey of St. Mary of the Bec, where Lanfranc taught all that could be taught of classics and canon law; students of the Sacred Scriptures and the works of the Latin Fathers. The spirit of religion, renewed at that time throughout Normandy, manifested itself at Bec. The fragrance of devotion filled the abbey, so that the inmates knew it for a house of God, a gate of heaven. Not all who studied under Lanfranc at Bec became monks or took the vows of religion, but many names are preserved of clerks, trained at Bec, who later won distinction as bishops and theologians. The Italian, Anselm of Baggio, left Bec to become Bishop of Lucca and to rule as Pope Alexander II; three Bishops of Rochester, Ernost (received as a small boy at the abbey), Gundulf, the architect, and Ralph who was translated to Canterbury; Henry, Prior of Christchurch, Canterbury, and Abbot of Battle; Paul, Lanfranc's nephew, the Abbot of St. Albans; Gilbert Crispin, who wrote the life of Herlwin and was made Abbot of Westminster — all these are on the roll of Bec during Lanfranc's priorship. One whose name would outshine all names on that roll knocked at the abbey door in 1059 and was promptly admitted — a travelling scholar — Anselm of Aosta.

IV

ANSELM AT BEC

Anselm arrived at Bec not to become a monk but to get learning. The death of his father, which took place within a year of Anselm's entering Bec, changed the situation and compelled reconsideration of plans. Sharply was Anselm brought face to face with a choice of roads; swiftly must the choice be made. Now that his father was dead should he return to Aosta, assume the management of the family estates and live, in the world yet not of it, as landed proprietor? Or should he relinquish all and retire to some solitary place, there to give himself to prayer and meditation? At that time the call to a hermit's life made strong appeal to Anselm.

Had he the vocation for religion? And if he were to become a monk, would it be better to remain at Bec or go elsewhere — to Cluny, for instance? But Cluny gave no encouragement to learning, and Bec had the pious Herlwin for abbot and the great Lanfranc for prior. Admiration for Lanfranc was unqualified; at the same time Anselm was conscious of his own powers, and without vanity desired scope. Would there be opportunity for full usefulness at Bec while Lanfranc was prior? Did not the greatness of Lanfranc make it impossible for Anselm, a man so much his junior, to reach out to the full extent of his intellectual powers, to use to the uttermost the gifts of intelligence, the talents held in trust from God? Anselm per-

sueded himself that he was thinking of the advantage of others when he pondered the question of staying at Bec or going to another monastery; later he discerned that it was of himself he was chiefly thinking.

He decided to consult Lanfranc on the first point; should he return to Aosta and accept the responsibilities of property or should he seek the life of religion? But Lanfranc could give no answer, only he advised that Anselm should put the question to his friend and counsellor, Maurille, the good Archbishop of Rouen. Anselm at once acted on this advice and for reply received an emphatic declaration from Maurille in favour of the monastic life. That settled the matter for Anselm. Nor did he pursue the secondary question of staying at Bec or going elsewhere. Humility, it was now plain to him, forbade leaving Bec. Ambition, self-seeking, prompted the notion of preference for a monastery where his gifts, not overshadowed, would ripen and bear fruit abundantly, where his talents would be employed to the full.

So Anselm was received as a novice at the abbey of Bec, and duly became a monk. The choice thus made was never regretted. For Anselm was drawn to the things that pertain to the salvation of the soul, as Lanfranc insisted in his instruction to English monks: "faith, contempt of the world, charity, purity, humility, patience, obedience, contrition with confession, the habit of prayer and silence"; and in the practise of these things Anselm found his high vocation.

Strong ties of friendship and affection bound Lanfranc and Anselm. Both were from the north of Italy, and in their sense of order and discipline, no less than in their

love of learning and their desire to promote the Kingdom of God by cleansing the body of the Church and quickening the spirit of the faithful, the two were at one. Lanfranc was nearly thirty years older than Anselm, and while the younger man brought the reverence of a disciple and the glowing attachment of pupil and hero-worshipper — gifts peculiarly grateful to the middle-aged for their sweetness and fine flavour — the elder recognised in Anselm's fervour and spirituality the qualities of sanctity.

Lanfranc was a scholar, theologian, an eminent canonist, and an upright and most capable administrator. Yet men saw him not as one illuminated by the experience of holiness, nor marked him as a worker of miracles. Anselm at Bec shed around him the light and heat of a Christian philosopher, filled with hunger and thirst for justice, conscious of the all-pervading presence of God, overflowing with charity, set plainly upon one thing, the complete and glad surrender of the will to the will of God. Anselm walked in the spirit, sensitive to what we call the supernatural. Not in vain was the grace of God given to him. Lanfranc was called from the monastic life to become a busy, hard-working prelate and a great statesman. To live in the world of men and the councils of kings; for all that he remained a monk and faithful to his order, valuing the spiritual realm that was for Anselm and not for him.

For two years only did Lanfranc and Anselm work together at Bec. William, Duke of Normandy, with an eye for capable and upright men, had other tasks for Lanfranc; summoning him in 1062 to be Abbot of the new abbey of St. Stephen at Caen, four years later appointing him to the archbishopric of Canterbury. On Lanfranc was

laid the work of reforming the Church in England, and by insisting that simony and concubinage must be ended and that a higher standard of morals and learning set up for bishops — to the discouragement of sloth and ignorance — Lanfranc wrought immense service to the cause of civil order and decent living. The first Norman King of England was resolved that bishops and abbots should be the best men available; men blameless in private life, faithful shepherds of their flocks, loyal to the crown, and not without some tincture of letters. Lanfranc fulfilled in himself all these requirements and co-operated with the King in the reform of the Church. He must be ranked with the ablest of the successors of St. Augustine. And at the Benedictine abbey of Bec this remarkable and very great prelate learnt the discipline of religion and the knowledge of ruling men and administering estates, and was tested in the use of power and the responsibilities of office.

It was to the Prior of the monastery at Canterbury that Lanfranc, when Archbishop, sent "the written customs of our order," declaring them to be "selected from the customs of those houses which in our day are of highest authority in the monastic rule." These customs were the rule at Bec, and Lanfranc made them the rule for the English monasteries. At the same time Lanfranc gave his reasons why the rule might be modified and the "customs" adapted to changing circumstances. For he added, "we mean not to tie down either ourselves who are here or those who are to come after us from adding or taking away or in any way changing if, either by the teaching of reason or by the authority of those who know better, any-

thing is seen to be an improvement. For be a man as far advanced as he may he can have no greater fault than to think he can improve no further; because changes in the number of our brethren, local conditions, differences of circumstances which are frequent, varieties of opinions, some understanding things in this way and others in that way, make it necessary for the most part that things which have long been observed should be differently arranged. Hence it is that no community can scarcely in all things follow any other."

If it be true that in the training and discipline of Bec the character of Lanfranc was formed, it is no less true that Lanfranc transformed the abbey of Bec. He sought humbly the monastic life in a small and undistinguished community and found it in Herlwin's abbey. He left the abbey renowned in all Europe. If Bec made Lanfranc, Lanfranc made Bec. It was the fame of Lanfranc that brought Anselm to Bec and when Anselm came to rule, the influence of the abbey of Bec spread even more widely. Spiritually and intellectually Bec was a great school of learning under Lanfranc and Anselm.

Young as he was and but three years a monk, Anselm was made Prior by the Abbot on Lanfranc's appointment to Caen. The jealousy invoked at a youthful newcomer's being set over the heads of many who had toiled and prayed for years was dissolved as the sweetness and strength of Anselm's rule appeared. The first resentment that arose is to-day remembered only because of Osbern the monk, not himself an elder but furiously enraged — why we know not — at Anselm being placed in authority. Anselm bore with Osbern's ill-conditioned temper,

showed not only patient forbearance but good humour and indulgence.

There was something in the fractious Osbern, so nearly his own age, that Anselm loved and cherished. All Osbern's bad manners and insolences could not hide from Anselm the better side of this avowed enemy. It was only a matter of time before Osbern capitulated, for Anselm was irresistible, and then the Prior had no more faithful and devoted follower than the erstwhile rebel. As Osbern showed his increasing attachment, Anselm gradually changed the treatment. No longer was indulgence allowed, the austerity of the monastic life was insisted upon to the full. And Anselm saw that Osbern responded to this direction, that love having first broken up the hard ground, severity was the safeguard against softness of character.

Presently Osbern fell sick and the sickness was mortal. Anselm nursed him and tended him with a mother's love. "Day and night was he at the bedside, giving him food and drink, serving him in all his wants, doing everything for the ease of his body and the comfort of his soul." Not even Prior Anselm's devoted nursing could save the sick monk, nor his deep affection hinder death. When Osbern lay dying Anselm asked him as a last request, and as friend to friend, to make known after he was dead what had become of him. And Osbern promised and so died. At the requiem, and while the monks chanted the long office for the dead, Anselm knelt alone in a remote corner of the abbey church weeping while he prayed for the soul of his friend. Worn with grief Anselm quietly fell asleep — he had the gift of going to sleep at any odd moment —

and sleeping, dreamed. Into the room where Osbern had died came certain grave figures who seated themselves and prepared to give the judgment, and while Anselm in his dream waited expectantly for the word of these judges Osbern, gaunt as a sick man risen from his bed and pale with loss of blood, stood before them and spoke. He said that three times the old serpent had striven to take him and three times he had been driven back, for "the Bearward of the Lord (*Ursarius Domini*) had delivered him." Anselm awaking with these words still ringing in his ears was confident that Osbern was in a place of pardon and that the angels of God had kept off his enemies even as the "bearward keep off the bears."

Death could not break this friendship with Osbern. Anselm writes to Gundulf (the Gundulf who went from Bec to be Bishop of Rochester and remained a lifelong friend) asking him to pray and offer Masses for the soul of Osbern as for Anselm himself.

"Osbern's soul is my soul wheresoever he be. Let me therefore while I am alive receive in him all that I might receive from my friends when I am dead; so that when I am dead they may trouble about me no more. Continually I pray that you may be recompensed for the importunity, therefore remember me and remember the soul of my beloved Osbern. If I am asking too much of you then forget me if only you will remember Osbern."

This strong affection for Osbern is one example of Anselm's love for his kind, of his genius for friendship, and of his love, in especial, for young people. Loving the boys of the monastery school at Bec he understood them; and therefore he set his face against the practise of heedlessly

beating children — a practise that still persists in many lands as a necessary and desirable item in the scheme of education. Anselm could not believe that it was wise, the effort to twist the will of youth to obedience by merely the fear of corporal pains and penalties, the attempt to break the spirit of the young by chastising their bodies. He pointed out to a neighbouring Abbot the mistake of enforcing discipline in so violent a manner. This Abbot, a man of sincere religion, came to Anselm in despair because the schoolboys at his monastery did not grow up into men of good character.

“What are we to do with them?” he asked Anselm. “They are utterly perverse and incorrigible. We beat them, day and night we beat them, we never leave off beating them, and they only get worse.”

“You say you never leave off beating them,” said Anselm quietly; “and what sort of men do they become when they grow up?”

“They become dull and brutal.”

“You are certainly unfortunate if with all the pains you take the only result of your trouble is to turn men into beasts.”

“But what are we to do then?” cried the Abbot. “In every way we constrain them to obedience and they will not improve.”

Anselm on that spoke plainly:

“Constrain them! Now tell me, my Lord Abbot, if you planted a tree in your orchard and tied it up on all sides so that nowhere could it stretch out its branches, what sort of tree would you have when after some years you allowed it room to spread? Would it be good for anything, such a

tree; would it be anything but a mass of tangled and misshaped boughs? And would it be anyone's fault but yours for always putting such constraint upon it? Yet that is just the way you deal with your boys. You plant them in the garden of the Church that they may grow up and bear fruit to God. And then you cramp them so heavily with threats of terrors and blows that they are utterly prevented from making use of any freedom. Depressed in this unwise way their minds gather all kinds of evil thoughts and become entangled as if with thorns. And then they come to cherish and encourage these bad thoughts, and their obstinacy makes them refuse everything that might help to get rid of them. So that after a while they see nothing in you that suggests that you have any love for them, or any kindness, or good will or tenderness. They cannot believe that you mean any good to them at all, and everything you do they put down to a dislike of them and an ill-nature. The older they grow the stronger grows their hatred and mistrust. They go about with their eyes on the ground and cannot look anyone in the face. But now, tell me, for the love of God, why are you so harsh with these boys? Are they not human beings? Are they not of the same human nature as you are? How would you like it, if you were as they are to be treated as you treat them? To shape them into good men you employ only blows and stripes. But did you ever see a craftsman shape any beautiful figure out of a plate of gold or silver by blows alone? Does he not sometimes gently press and strike it with his tools, and then still more gently raise and shape it. If you really want your boys to grow up into good men you must not only use blows that

bow them down, you must lift them up and help them in every way with fatherly kindness and gentle treatment."

"We only try to make them serious and give them a sturdy character," the Abbot grumbled. "What are we to do?"

"You mean well," said Anselm, "but if you give an infant solid food you choke it. Every soul requires its suitable food. Strong meats are for the strong soul, the soul that rejoices in tribulations and bears them patiently, that has no wish for the things of another, that offers its other cheek to the smiter, prays for its enemies and loves those that hate it. But the weak and tender in God's service need milk, the milk of babes, gentleness from others, kindness, mercy, cheerful encouragement, loving forbearance. If you will but adapt yourselves to those who are weak and those who are strong, most surely by God's grace and as far as lies in you, you will win them all for God."

"Alas," said the Abbot with a sigh, "it seems we have been all wrong, for we have strayed very far from the way of truth, and the light of discretion has not shone upon our path."

And so falling down at Anselm's feet the Abbot confessed his sin, prayed forgiveness for the past, and promised amendment for the future.

The boys of these monastery schools would be chiefly engaged in the study of "grammar," as it was called; and by this was meant not merely the rules of language and the knowledge of syntax and prosody, but the mastery of Latin for literary and conversational purposes. Of the classical Latin authors — Cicero, Virgil, Horace, and Terence

— and of the Christian poets who wrote in Latin — Prudentius, Sedulius, and Aratus — are named as the writers studied and lectured upon in the records of monastic schools of the early middle ages. As the small children in these schools were set to learn the psalter by heart with the *Paternoster* and *Credo* so after the age of fourteen, unless they left the monastery for a secular career, they would proceed to rhetoric and logic or philosophy (grammar, rhetoric, and logic or philosophy composed the *Trivium*, the first three sciences) and then to the last four — arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy — the *Quadrivium*. Except in the study of Latin, it must have been an elementary knowledge that was imparted and received of all these subjects.

At Bec, Lanfranc certainly lectured on St. Paul's Epistles and the Latin Bible, with writings of the Latin Fathers; and the works of St. Augustine, in particular, would form part of the course of studies for the monks who were called to the priesthood. The scholarship of Lanfranc and the intellectual gifts of Anselm were, of course, exceptional. Great learning and the exhibition of first-rate intellectual powers were as rare in the eleventh century as they are in the twentieth. It was but a smattering of learning, sufficient theology and philosophy and some elements of Latin, for the proper saying of Mass and the reverent performance of the ceremonies of the Church and the recitation of the divine office, that would be required of a clerk in holy orders. The clerks of the regular orders became in later centuries the leaders of higher education at a number of monasteries, but in the main what was required of the monk was proficiency in humility

and in the practise of holy obedience. The religious life did not undertake to produce scholars or train men in the mastery of secular knowledge or prepare them for high office in the world. The men of religion, taken out of their monasteries to become bishops, ambassadors, statesmen, cardinals, and popes, were exceptional men, singularly gifted above their fellows in nearly every case; and because they were exceptional they were called to exceptional work. The monk's work was in his monastery and there he would be found — tilling the ground, praising God in choir, copying manuscripts, building, and teaching children in the cloister. It was a life of routine, an ordered life, and above all a life of peace in a world rent with strife. Such men as Herlwin could make nothing of a world where fighting was the only occupation for a man of spirit. Equally for Anselm did happiness exist in the pure activity of the mind untrammelled by the anxieties and ambitions of the rulers of the world.

The long years at Bec were the full years and the years of happiness for Anselm. They passed swiftly, as the well-filled days governed by order always pass, and it was thirty-two years after his admission to Bec that Anselm left the abbey he loved so greatly and left it never to return.

When Herlwin died in 1078 — a very old man — after seeing the third abbey of Our Lady of Bec completed and the church consecrated by Archbishop Lanfranc, Anselm was at once and by the unanimous vote of the community elected Abbot in his stead. No word of criticism, no suggestion of envy marred the election. The consent of Duke William, the lord of all Normandy, was necessary and William knew enough of the character of Anselm to ap-

prove the appointment and to invest the new Abbot with authority by delivering to him the pastoral staff of his office. Nor did Anselm raise objection to such investiture.

Very full were the years for Anselm when he was Prior and Abbot of Bec. Monks, with students not called to the monastic life, increased in number. Many benefactions of land to the community, donations in England and Normandy, with the consequent establishment of daughter houses, involved much correspondence and made journeys of pastoral visitation necessary. A popular rhyme told the vast possessions of the abbey which had emerged from its early obscurity to a foremost place in Christendom:

*De quelque part que le vent vente,
L'abbaye du Bec a rente.*

("Blow the wind from where it will, from the lands of Bec it bloweth still.")

Of these many estates and manors, in England, and in Paris and Amiens, a single parish in the south of London, Tooting Bec, commemorates its ancient dependence.

Apart from letters to old students and monks of Bec, and notably to Lanfranc at Canterbury; to Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester; Maurice, Lanfranc's secretary; Henry, Prior of Christchurch Canterbury; Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster and Herlwin's biographer; and to gracious ladies who enriched Bec with many gifts; Countess Ida, wife of Eustace II and mother of Godfrey, Count of Boulogne, who delivered Jerusalem (A.D. 1099); the Lady Eva, wife of William Crispin, and the Lady Basilia, wife of Hugh, Lord of Gournay — Anselm had correspondence

in other lands, especially with the keener spirits of monastic reform, with Abbot William, of Hirsau near Stuttgart, and Lanzo of Cluny, the prior of St. Pancras at Lewes in Sussex. The years of Anselm at Bec covered the period of Pope Gregory VII's struggle with the Emperor Henry IV, the era of Hildebrand's reforms; of the Emperor's excommunication and the journey to Canossa. In all these events Anselm was fully alive to the issues at stake; but nowhere in his letters does he make reference to public affairs. He has no time for discussing matters that do not require his attention; he would have time later to answer when the question is thrust upon him. Anselm was the last person to fritter away his strength over affairs that did not come within the range of his duties, to interfere where no interference was demanded of him.

Besides, his leisure at Bec was required for the philosophical work that raised Anselm so immeasurably above his contemporaries. The writings of this fruitful season consist of three dialogues on truth, free will, and sin, and the more important treatises, the *Monologion* and the *Proslogion*. By these works Anselm earned a place in the company of original thinkers. He probed the problems of thought, the profoundest problems of the mind in every century, and fearlessly and clearly set out the difficulties and the answer as he saw it.

The nature and arguments of Anselm's philosophical work are considered in a later chapter. The work was done while he was Prior, for the leisure was more strictly reduced after he became Abbot. Only by the wisest economy of time could Anselm concentrate on the tremendous

problems he desired to solve; living sparingly he had time and strength to spare for questions that to him were of grave importance; questions of no less importance to philosophers in every age.

Of miraculous events at Bec many stories are related, and legends grew up concerning St. Anselm, the Prior and Abbot of Bec, as they grow up concerning many a famous person, often by no means a saint.

A monk named Richard was startled one night on going into the chapter house to see the Prior whom he thought asleep, standing at prayer with a halo of light surrounding his head.

Anselm himself discovered when he was Prior that he had the gift of seeing and being able to describe events not visible to the eye. He mentioned, quite simply, and as a matter of fact, that one night when he was sleepless he was pondering the mystery of the revelation to the prophets of the future as though it were present, and wondering how it could be, when he saw through the wall of his room the brothers lighting candles and preparing things in the chapel for matins just as though the wall was non-existent.

On the testimony of two monks, two men of honest and good report, we have the story of the noble who lived in Flanders and was sore afflicted with leprosy. In answer to his prayers he had a vision telling him to go to the abbey of Bec and there drink a few drops of the water that the Abbot had dipped his fingers into at the lavabo—the ceremonial washing of the hands at Mass—and he would be healed. The knight hesitated; then pride yielded to humility and with faith that he would be healed if he

obeyed, off he went to Bec and was allowed to attend the early Mass said by the Abbot, and to receive the lavabo water to drink. He drank but a few drops and found he was healed, nor did the disease return. Anselm warned him that the only merit in the cure was the mercy of God and not any merit of man.

V

THE ABBOT'S VISITS TO ENGLAND

Anselm came to England for the first time in 1079, the year after his election as Abbot, to visit the daughter houses of Bec. He stayed at Canterbury with Archbishop Lanfranc for a few days on arrival, and there being invited to preach to the monks of Christchurch, Anselm discoursed on charity. Taking for his text the words, "It is more blessed to give than to receive," he reasoned that to the giver belonged the permanent charity, since when we give love we do not lose it, and therefore the greater blessing; for the recipient had but a transient gift. To love others was, therefore, a greater cause for joy than being loved by them.

It was on this first visit to England and during the stay at Canterbury that Eadmer, then a young monk at Christchurch, came to Anselm. Eadmer noted the friendly and fraternal manner of the Abbot of Bec, how he lived with the Christchurch monks as one of themselves and the freshness and originality of the addresses he gave to the community.

Lanfranc turned to his friend, the Abbot, for help concerning the veneration that was given in England to numerous local saints canonised by no authority save popular acclamation; and in especial there was the case of Aelphcg. Lanfranc (in the estimation of Eadmer "still but little of an Englishman," though he liked to be considered

thoroughly English) put it to Anselm that "these English among whom we dwell have taken it upon themselves to turn certain of those they venerate into saints and I am in doubt about the matter. There is Aelpheg for instance, unmistakably a holy man and one of my predecessors in this diocese. The English count him not only a saint but a martyr, though they admit he was killed not for confessing the name of Christ, but for refusing to have his life ransomed at the expense of his people. The very pagans who took him prisoner, for all their malice towards him and their enmity to God, had sufficient reverence for his person to grant him life and liberty if he would pay for the privilege with an immense sum of money. As Aelpheg could only raise this money by despoiling his own flock, and probably reducing many to utter destitution, he chose rather to be slain." What did Anselm think of it? Was Archbishop Aelpheg a martyr?

Anselm was quite sure that he was, demonstrating to Lanfranc how the conclusion was reached.

"He who is willing to die for the lesser will the more readily die for the greater, and it certainly seems a graver sin to deny Christ to the unbeliever than to lay a burden on one's people for the ransom of life. Therefore since Aelpheg would not commit the lesser sin, preferring death to the impoverishment of his people, it follows *a fortiori* that he would not have committed the graver sin of apostasy. The soul of Aelpheg must have been ruled by an overpowering sense of justice since he was willing to die rather than offend against charity by causing his neighbours to stumble, and surely a voluntary death which can only be attributed to such a high and fine sense of justice

brings the right to be ranked worthily with the martyrs. We venerate John the Baptist as a martyr, and he was killed not for refusing to deny Christ but for refusing to deny the truth. And what distinction can be drawn between dying for justice and dying for truth? Christ is truth, and Christ is justice, therefore he who dies for truth and he who dies for justice dies for Christ; and whoso dies for Christ is ranked with the martyrs. As John the Baptist died for truth so Aelphæg died for justice. Therefore, so far as I can see, reason approves of ranking Aelphæg with the martyrs." But Lanfranc was the older man and Anselm added modestly: "It belongs to your wisdom to correct me and bring me back from error if it seems to you otherwise."

So far from disagreeing Lanfranc expressed an enthusiastic admiration for the verdict. He was now entirely convinced, he said, that the blessed Aelphæg was a martyr, henceforth St. Aelphæg should be whole-heartedly venerated as a martyr.

Osbern, a monk of Christchurch, Canterbury, was appointed to write the life of St. Aelphæg, and Lanfranc drew up an office for the feast of the martyr and ordered the feast to be kept on April 19, the day of St. Aelphæg's martyrdom.*

Other visits Anselm paid to England, for the abbey of Bec had estates not only to the south of London at Tooting and Streatham, but also at Ruislip in Middlesex and

*The feast of St. Elphege — so it is spelt to-day — who was martyred at Greenwich near London, is kept as a double in the English dioceses of Westminster, Birmingham, Clifton, Portsmouth, and Salford.

in the counties of Essex, Suffolk, Dorset, Oxfordshire, Northampton, and Huntingdon.

Everywhere the sweetness and strength and the plain good will of Abbot Anselm made him a welcome visitor. Barons and countesses, Norman soldiers and English monks, old and young, rich and poor, Anselm won affection and respect from them all, so that on these visits the desire to serve him was general and to fail in serving him was accounted a loss of merit in the sight of God.

In truth Anselm had the simple directness that belongs to the wise and large-hearted of mankind. Large-hearted, he understood and could sympathise with the people he met, clergy and lay folk alike, and being full of wisdom he could say the good and the right word to each. Neither Norman nor English himself, and free from racial prejudice, possessing, too, a love for his fellows that was no mere regard for an abstraction called "humanity" (a love for the general to the exclusion of the particulars) but was a love that went out to persons, a love rooted in good will, part and parcel of the love of God, Anselm spread around him an atmosphere of peace. Men and women, turbulent, headstrong, violent and passionate many of them, felt the influence of Anselm and acknowledged the charm of his personality. William the Conqueror, stark and fierce to others, so that none dared resist his will, appeared in the presence of Anselm to be another man, no longer the harsh and terrible ruler but a king of gracious speech and friendly manner. In Anselm the holiness that William gravely revered, aware that its pursuit was not within the measure of his own life, carried with it no suggestion

of weakness. The strong mind was manifest in the Abbot of Bec. In this son of St. Benedict, humble and lowly of heart, a willing *servus servorum*, the monk invested by him with the rule of the great abbey of Bec, William recognised a thoroughly capable and efficient ruler of men. And efficiency was a quality of highest value in William's eyes. Slackness in life, mental sloth, slovenliness in administration, these things the Conqueror abhorred and would not tolerate in bishops and abbots. The confidence of the monks of Bec in choosing him for Abbot had been entirely justified, and the confidence of the Duke of Normandy in approving the choice had been well rewarded. Anselm was not brought into the close contact with the King's authority as Lanfranc was, yet in the intercourse they had the King was moved by the holiness of Anselm, and when he lay dying at Rouen it was Anselm above all others whom he wished to see.

VI

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

On that September morning when William, Duke of Normandy and King of England, lay dying at Rouen, he confessed the bloodshed of his reign — “I am stained with rivers of blood” — but called to mind that he had “never hurt the Church of God,” and that he had striven to serve the cause of religion. Harsh, pitiless, and fearless was the Conqueror of England — “stark” they called him — but he had set his face against simony — the buying and selling of bishoprics and Church benefices — and with Lanfranc’s help had got rid of unworthy bishops and abbots and put prelates of good repute in their places. Perhaps it might be said more accurately that Archbishop Lanfranc effected the many ecclesiastical reforms of the reign with the help of the King; but the two, Archbishop and King, worked together in close agreement and in full harmony in all the affairs of the Church, and the King knew the loyalty and steadfastness of the Lombard whom he had brought to Canterbury. It was Lanfranc who made William’s peace with Rome over the King’s marriage. For William married his second cousin Matilda without any dispensation, and the passionate, enduring love for his wife was a reality — dispensation or no dispensation.

To Lanfranc the dying King sent a letter praying him to stand by his son William and confirm him in the succession to the crown of England. To Robert, the first-

born, went Normandy, and to Henry, the third son, a large sum of money and the father's foresighted assurance that in the end he had but to bide his time and all should come to him. Within a month of the Conqueror's death, William II, Rufus the Red—for so men called him because of his light hair and red face—was crowned and consecrated King of England by Lanfranc in the abbey of Westminster.

Archbishop Lanfranc was an old man now and the death of the king, a younger man by some twenty years, left him stricken. He survived his royal friend, colleague in good works and patron, by two years, and on his death, William the Red was left with no one to restrain him.

The son was as fearless as his father, as stern and as strong. But he was without that belief in justice, that faith in the sovereign power of a living God, that desire for law and order in Church and State, and that grave austerity in morals that kept the Conqueror from baseness in his tyranny. "Terrible and mighty was he over his land and towards all his neighbours," it was said of the Red King. "All that was loathsome in the eyes of God and of righteous men was of common use in his time; wherefore he was loathed by well-nigh all his people and hateful was he to God, as his end showed."

The marriage of the Conqueror and his faithful love for his wife shine out when the harshness of his rule is recalled. The Red King was unmarried and cared nothing and knew nothing of the love of woman, of the desire for offspring, of the desires of fatherhood. Wild and most brutish profligacy became fashionable at his court. To pay for his debaucheries and extravagances (having first dis-

tributed with lavish generosity the treasure his father had accumulated) he extorted from all who had money, and in especial he robbed the Church; enjoying the revenues of all vacant sees and abbeys while refusing to fill up the vacancies so that his enjoyment might remain. On Lanfranc's death the king took for his chief adviser a priest named Ranulf — nicknamed the Torch or Firebrand — a rough, coarse, unscrupulous man, with a knowledge of law and clever enough to please his master by covering ill-doing with the cloak of the law. Ranulf, for whom government meant the art of procuring money for the king and silencing all opposition, received later the Bishopric of Durham and was made justiciar, the king's chief justice. The most scandalous of the robberies inflicted by the agency of Ranulf was the appropriation of the revenues of the Archdiocese of Canterbury; for more than three years was the Church in England kept without a primate in order that the king might have for his own the revenues of the see. It was a thing that was shocking to all lovers of religion, an evil thing to all who cared for public decency and the good estate of the realm.

The pitiful lament of Eadmer describes without exaggeration the miseries of these years:

"The king seized the church at Canterbury, the mother of all England, Scotland, and Ireland and the neighbouring isles; he bade his officers to make an inventory of all that belonged to it within and without; and after he had fixed an allowance for the support of the monks who served God in that place, he ordered the remainder to be disposed of at a rent and brought under his domain. Thus he put up the Church of Christ for sale; giving the power

of lordship over it to anyone who, however hurtful he might be, would bid the highest price. Every year in wretched succession, a new rent was set; for the king would allow no bargain to remain settled and whoever promised more ousted him who was paying less, unless the former tenant, giving up his original bargain, came up of his own accord to the offer of the later bidder; and every day might be seen, besides, the most abandoned of men on their business of collecting money for the king, marching about the cloisters of the monastery, heedless of the rule of religion of God's servants, and with fierce and savage looks giving their orders on all sides; uttering threats, lording it over everyone and showing their power to the uttermost. How many scandals and quarrels and irregularities arose from this I hate to remember. Some of the monks of Christchurch were dispersed at the beginning of these misfortunes and sent to other houses, and those who remained endured many tribulations and indignities. What shall I say of the church tenants, ground down by much wasting and misery? One might doubt, but that worse followed, whether escaping with bare life they could have been more cruelly oppressed. Nor did all this happen only at Canterbury. The same savage cruelty raged in all her daughter churches in England, which when bishop or abbot died fell into widowhood. And this king, too, was the first who ordered such woeful oppression against the churches of God, for he had inherited nothing of this sort from his father, but was alone in keeping the vacant churches in his own hands. And thus wherever one looked there was wretchedness before one's eyes; and this distress lasted for nearly five years over the

church of Canterbury, always increasing, always as time went on becoming more cruel and evil."

Courageous in battle and skilful in arms was the Red King, and he wore the crown of England without fear of losing it. But he ruled the land as the lord of a subject province, exacting tribute, and as long as the money he demanded was forthcoming utterly unheeding the condition of the people. "A pattern of absolutism." No one dared oppose the Red King, no one dared stand before him as the prophets of old stood before the kings of Israel, until Anselm came to Canterbury.

Nevertheless many of the barons were restive and uneasy at the harrying of the monks, and many, remembering Lanfranc, had shame that there was no Archbishop of Canterbury in the great council of the realm. Next to the king himself the Archbishop of Canterbury was the first man in England, first in Church and first in State. So was Lanfranc. The realm was dishonoured while no primate wore the mitre of Canterbury, and a clever, unscrupulous clerk such as Ranulf the Firebrand played the lord over men of religion. The barons were hard-living fighting men for the most part, but in that latter half of the eleventh century they held the monks in esteem, and to the monasteries they gave lands and gifts. It was galling to the barons to see this fellow Ranulf using as his own, in the king's behalf, their donations to religion. Besides, the monastic life was a witness to the peace for which the man-at-arms longed. He knew it for a better life than his own, so stained with bloodshed. Others than Herlwin turned from the violence of perpetual war to the life of prayer and labour and the spiritual strife. Without religion

what hope remained for sinful men and women? And without monks and nuns, who was there to pray for fighting men and to pray God's mercy on the souls that fell too often unshriven?

Barons and knights grew restive at the treatment of the monks, at the spoiling of Canterbury, and the empty throne of the primate. Lanfranc, the friend and chief counsellor of the mighty King William, had been a monk. Let his successor be a monk. Anselm, Abbot of Bec, was known and honoured in England, let him be Archbishop in the throne and sit where Lanfranc had sat. So the talk went.

Anselm was the difficulty; for Anselm was in Normandy and was by no means to be persuaded to visit England, when rumour reached him that he was destined to be the next Archbishop of Canterbury. Hugh of Avranches, Earl of Chester, Hugh the Fat, so vast that he could hardly stand, Hugh, the bitter foe of the Welsh with whom he waged constant war, was an old friend of the Abbot of Bec, and it was Hugh (who for all his own disordered life loved the truth and beauty of a life he recognised to be superior to his own), who managed to get Anselm to come to England. Not at once. The first appeal was based on the ground that Hugh had just brought in monks in place of secular clergy in the house of St. Werburga at Chester and that Anselm was wanted to see that all things were in order. To Anselm, with these reports concerning the archbishopric freely whispered, and resolved that he would not accept the primacy if it were offered to him, it seemed better to keep away from England for the present. Earl Hugh wrote a second time, professing that he was

sick and needed help of his old friend. As to the empty chair at Canterbury he added: "I declare by my faith there's nothing in the reports that are going about as to the archbishopric." Anselm ought not to refuse to come to the help of a friend who was in need because of any doubts about the archbishopric.

Again Anselm thought it best to decline. And again Hugh returned to the charge, concluding this time with the solemn warning that not all the peace of eternity would save Anselm from the remorse for having neglected to come to his old friend when he called for him.

On this Anselm yielded, for after all it seemed he cared more to avoid a charge of appearing ambitious than to meet the wishes and possibly the very real needs of one who had long been a dear and familiar friend. Others of the barons were also urging him to visit England, and the community of Bec exacted a promise that its Abbot would not return till he had seen that affairs in all the English daughter houses were in good order.

In September, 1092, Anselm arrived at Dover and then went on to Canterbury. But not to stay for a few days as he had hoped. For to the Abbot's distress the welcome was expressed in a general shout that he had come to be their Archbishop, and hearing these words he quickly left for Chester. On his way there he was bidden by Rufus to the royal court and when he arrived the King received him with great display of honour. A private interview followed and Anselm at once told the King how everywhere men spoke ill of the misrule: "Things were daily said of the King, openly and secretly, by nearly all the men of his realm which were unseemly for the dignity of the King."

Then after this, the first admonition, they parted and on the arrival at Chester Anselm found his old friend Fat Hugh recovered. The business of the Chester monastery and the English property of Bec having been attended to, Anselm proposed to return to Normandy. To his dismay William refused him permission to leave England. Since there had been no further word of the vacant archbishopric, and Anselm had in fact thought no more about it, the refusal was disconcerting.

At Christmas the King held his court at Gloucester and Anselm was present. Before the court dispersed, the nobles and bishops there assembled appealed to the King to allow prayers to be said throughout the realm that the King's heart might be guided to appoint a successor to Lanfranc in the widowed and desolate see of Canterbury. Rufus, rather shocked at the suggestion, yielded, adding that all the prayers of the Church would not hinder him doing whatever he pleased. At once the bishops called on Anselm to draw up the necessary prayer, and though demurring on the ground that he was but an abbot, Anselm consented when they persisted in the request. So the prayer was made and as the King still refused him permission to leave England, Anselm went to live at a manor house in the neighbourhood of Gloucester, where the King then kept his court.

It was early in March that the King heard one of his nobles speak of Anselm as the holiest of men, so holy that it was plain that all his love was of God and that he cared nothing for temporal things. "Doesn't he care for the Archbishopric of Canterbury?" said Rufus scornfully.



SAINT ANSELM, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY
AND DOCTOR OF THE CHURCH

"That least of all," came the answer, "and many others will tell you the same thing."

"And I tell you," Rufus replied, "that if he thought he had a chance of getting it he would dance for joy and clap his hands and rush to throw himself in my arms. But by the Face of God* neither he nor anyone else except myself shall be archbishop for the present."

A few weeks later and the King was dangerously ill, so ill that it was thought he would die, and at the beginning of Lent Anselm was sent for. The King believed himself dying and willingly accepted the ministrations of the good Abbot of Bec. So Anselm came to the sick man and bade him make a clean confession of all that he knew he had done against God, and promise further that should he recover he would without any pretence amend his life in all things.

Rufus, who still believed himself on his deathbed, sorrowfully agreed to all that Anselm required and promised that for the rest of his life he would live in justice and mercy, that he would sell no more churches nor farm them out, but instead defend the Church with all his kingly might, and that he would make an end of all unjust laws and establish just laws.

The bishops present, called upon as witnesses between the King and God, were then ordered to carry these vows to the high altar in the church and there present them to God. The next thing was a royal edict, sealed with the royal seal, ordering the release of all prisoners through-

*This was the favourite oath of William II. His father swore "by the splendour of God," and Henry I "by the eyes of God."

out the King's dominions, the remission of all debts, and the pardon of all offences heretofore committed and their blotting out forever.

There was still the vacant archbishopric to be filled and to the bishops and courtiers, waiting expectantly for the royal word, the King named Anselm.

And now the thing that Anselm had dreaded had come upon him. In vain he pleaded that he was an old man — he was then sixty — unfit for the heavy responsibility, that he was a monk, one who had shunned the business of the world. The bishops who had pursued him would have none of such excuses. Here was religion, they said, well-nigh destroyed in England, and every evil rampant in the land, and the Church of God stricken almost to death, and at such a time was Anselm for the sake of his own ease and quiet to refuse the call to deliver Canterbury from its bondage?

Anselm spoke of further difficulties, his allegiance to his feudal lord, Duke Robert of Normandy, to the Archbishop of Rouen, to the community of Bec, above all to Pope Urban (for the Emperor Henry IV had set up an anti-pope).

There was nothing here, the bishops pointed out, that was any real obstacle, nothing that could not easily be adjusted. Anselm could only protest it could not be, and thereupon the bishops led him and dragged him back into the King's bed-chamber, and there a strange scene was enacted. The Red King, fearful and anxious, whom all thought to be dying, invoking the memory of his father and mother who were Anselm's friends, beseeching Anselm by their memory to deliver their son from the deadly

perils that threatened him. Certain of the King's lords seeing the King's distress reproached Anselm for embittering the King's last hours. On Anselm, they said, would be all the blame for whatever evils followed if he would not do his part by accepting the office of pastor.

Anselm stood alone; the two monks who were his companions could but murmur obedience to the will of God.

The King becoming desperate told the bishops to go down on their knees to Anselm and implore him to assent, and no sooner were the bishops on their knees than Anselm prostrated himself before them.

A strange scene!

The bishops lost patience; suddenly they were irritated with themselves as much as with this holy and obstinate Abbot of Bec. Up from their knees they rose and fetching a crozier, by sheer force twisted Anselm's fingers around it. Then they carried him captive into the church, while the people shouted *vivat episcopus* and the clergy sang *Te Deum Laudamus*. Anselm cried out, "It is nought that ye do, it is nought that ye do."

In a letter to the monks of Bec, describing these events Anselm later wrote that it would have been difficult to make out whether a lot of madmen were carrying a sane man, or that a madman was being carried by the sane. "If it had been the will of God and the choice had been mine rather than be made archbishop I would gladly have died."

Back in the royal bed-chamber Anselm told the King that he would recover of his sickness and that he could revoke all that had been done about the archbishopric, since Anselm for his part would not admit that the pro-

ceedings were valid. To the bishops and nobles Anselm presently spoke of the mistake they were making in forcing the archbishopric upon him: "You have yoked to the plough with a wild bull an old and feeble sheep." The plough, he said, was the Church of God, and in England it had recently been drawn by two strong oxen, the King and the Archbishop of Canterbury, one to rule with justice and to hold power in the things of this world and the other to teach and govern in the things eternal. Now that Lanfranc was dead they had joined a poor old sheep to his untamed companion.

That the King and the Archbishop were unevenly yoked was manifest on William's recovery; but it was no old and feeble sheep with whom the King had to deal but a man as brave and steadfast as he was gentle and wise.

Six months passed before Anselm was enthroned in his cathedral. Not that the King on his recovery made any move to cancel the appointment. Trouble fell on the country, for royal promises of public amendment were broken without shame. Pardoned prisoners were re-arrested, cancelled debts re-demanded, prosecutions against offenders revived. "Then there was so great misery and suffering through the whole realm that no one can remember to have seen its like in England. All the evil which the King had wrought before he was sick seemed good by the side of the wrong which he did when he returned to health." "By the Face of God," the King swore to Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester, when that good prelate and great architect—for his were the plans of Westminster Hall and the Tower of London—remonstrated at the ill-deeds, "you may take it from me that God shall never have any good

at my hands for all the hurt He has done me." But no suggestion of keeping Anselm out of Canterbury was made.

Anselm himself told the King when he met him at Rochester that summer that he would only become Archbishop on condition that all the lands that belonged to the see in the time of Lanfranc were restored, and that in matters of religion he expected the King to look upon him as his spiritual director just as he would look to the King as his earthly lord and defender; finally, he told the King that with the rest of the Church in Normandy he had acknowledged Urban for Pope and not Clement, the anti-pope set up by the Emperor.

William agreed that Anselm should have all the lands held by Lanfranc, though he declined to commit himself on other matters. But no sooner had the Red King agreed on the restoration of the estates belonging to Canterbury than he tried to persuade Anselm to allow the Church lands at Canterbury, bestowed since Lanfranc's death on vassals of the crown on the condition of military service, to remain with their holders. Anselm steadily refused the request. Had he yielded he would have been a party to the surrender of the lands that, as a portion of the property of the see, he was bound to administer for the common good; he would have been a party not only to the spoiling of the Church, but to the robbery of the poor and needy, whose claims to temporal assistance from the funds of the Church was not in those days denied. And Anselm foresaw that any subsequent restitution of lands thus given up was impossible, since it could be proved that the Archbishop had confirmed the act of the King.

The real cause of the delay was the reluctance of the

community of Bec to give their consent to the departure of their Abbot.

Duke Robert and Anselm's old friend, William Bonne Ame, Archbishop of Rouen, after some correspondence, sanctioned the departure from Normandy and the release from all feudal obligations, but the monks of Bec raised a multitude of objections to the translation of their Abbot. A minority were entirely against release from the vow of the Abbot to serve the community taken by Anselm on his election. Not if they could help it would they lose their Abbot, these monks who had grown up under his care. It tore their hearts to bid Anselm farewell forever from the common life. So they held out as long as they could against the necessary consent, until Anselm's letters drove them to accept the loss for the sake of the larger welfare of the Church. If they only knew, wrote Anselm to the community, as the long correspondence dragged on, what unspeakable hurt was being done both to souls and bodies by this continued vacancy at Canterbury, and how harmful it was to the English people and how hateful to all good men, he thought that human feelings alone would make them wish to end it.

Reports came, of course, to Anselm, that some said he was being impelled by ambition. And so he writes in another letter with Pauline fervour of the baselessness of this suspicion. What could he say to justify his conscience if all his past life and conversation at Bec did not convince them? For thirty-three years he had worn the monk's habit, three years as a simple monk, fifteen years as prior, and fifteen as abbot. He had not sought their love, but by the mercy of God he had won the love of those who knew

him, and the greater love of those who knew him the most intimately and in closest companionship. Had anyone seen in him the signs of a man who wanted promotion? What was he to do? How was he to put a stop to the false and horrible suspicions before these suspicions hurt the souls of those who had once loved him in the love of God by making that love grow cold? and of those who had relied on his advice and example whatever they might be worth, by making them think worse of him than he really was? and of those who not knowing him and hearing this would have a bad example set before them? God was his witness that he did not understand how the love of anything that the world could offer should hurry him and drag him to this archbishopric. And now having told them all that was in his conscience concerning the desire to be archbishop and his aversion from the office, he could only add: "If I deliberately lie to God I know not to whom I can speak the truth."

Other arguments were proposed against Anselm leaving Bec. On his election as Abbot he had declared himself the servant of the community, he had been given to the community in the sight of God, and as in marriage the bond should not be sundered. Had he not told them more than once that he had no desire to live except for them, that he would not leave them for any other seat of authority?

And Anselm could only answer to these appeals that the will of God overrules all human plans. He had indeed trusted confidently that in his own strength he would remain where he wished to be; and God had brought his self-confidence to nothing. God knew best.

They yielded at last and the letters of release from his government of Bec arrived in England.

No longer Abbot, Anselm still would retain the love of the community he left. Many of them, he writes in another letter at this time, perhaps nearly all, had come to Bec because he was there. But not one of them became a monk for his sake; not for the hope of any reward from him had they taken the vows of religion. To God they had given all they had and from God alone must they look for their needs to be fulfilled. And God would nourish them if they did but cast their burdens upon Him. For himself Anselm prayed that they would not love him less because God's will had thus been wrought upon him. Let him not lose his reward for them for the time when he strove to do their will, because now he neither could nor ought resist the will of God; to forsake the Church of the English and withdraw from its service when God had called him would be but to resist the will of God. Let their old love for him still show itself, not only for their own sakes, but for the sake of God and for the sake of Anselm.

On the eleventh of September Anselm took formal possession of his see, and on the twenty-fifth was solemnly enthroned in the cathedral. To mar the festivities Ranulf Flambard arrived with a writ for the Archbishop directed in the King's name against certain of the tenants of the diocese. It seemed monstrous to the monks of Canterbury that so holy a man as Anselm should not be suffered to enjoy his first day of his office in peace. To Anselm it was but a foretaste of what he might expect.

On the fourth of December, 1093, Thomas, Archbishop

of York, assisted by nearly the whole of the English episcopate, consecrated Anselm in Canterbury cathedral. On a protest being lodged by Thomas against the word "Metropolitan," used in reference to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the descriptive title "Primate" was substituted. It was never admitted that Canterbury had authority over York. The Archbishop of Canterbury had a primacy in England, Wales, and Ireland, not a supremacy.

VII

THE ENMITY OF THE RED KING

The troubles Anselm had foreseen came swiftly. To the King, keeping Christmas once more at Gloucester, went the Archbishop shortly after his consecration, bringing with him as a present five hundred marks. Rufus, wanting all the money he could raise for the war he was planning against his brother, Duke Robert of Normandy, would have taken the gift gladly enough if some of the courtiers and men-at-arms had not told him the Archbishop ought to have brought twice as much. On hearing this opinion, the King, to show his dissatisfaction, refused the present; the money Anselm had brought was returned. On that the Archbishop told the King plainly when they met face to face that although this was his first gift it would not be his last and that in any case money freely given was better than a forced tribute.

Since the extortion practised by the King's servants was notorious, Rufus, enraged by the frank reproof, answered that he wanted neither the Archbishop's money, nor his preaching, nor his company. Anselm retired from the court, not altogether displeased at the refusal, since it made the smallest suggestion of simony impossible; too many of the clergy bought benefices and high positions in the Church by "free" gifts after they were instituted in their offices.

In vain many who wished him well urged Anselm to

win the King's favour by increasing his present; the Archbishop shook his head at the idea of buying royal good will and promptly ordered the five hundred marks to be distributed to the poor.

And now since the Archbishop would not take the path of corruption to oblige the King, the King would as resolutely make the path of righteousness a hard road for the Archbishop.

Two months later the Archbishop was summoned to Hastings where Rufus waited with his army to cross to Normandy. The customary blessing of Archbishop and bishops on the military expedition was required, the justice or injustice of the proposed invasion of Duke Robert's territory not being raised in question. The winds were contrary so that the King was unable to embark, and the beginning of Lent having come Anselm appealed to the King to sanction a council of bishops — such as had been held under the Conqueror both in England and in Normandy — whose decisions, approved by the crown should have the authority of law. The King asked impatiently what the council was wanted for, and Anselm replied gravely that such a council would condemn the open vice and profligacy that ravaged the land "so that unless judgment and discipline are exercised the whole country will soon be as Sodom," and it would also find abbots for the many monasteries that were without heads, to the great hurt of the monks and of the soul of the King who allowed these evils to continue unchecked. In short, the council was needed "to restore the Christian religion, which in so many was well nigh dead."

William treated the request with an angry contempt.

The morals of courtiers and nobles were no concern of the Archbishop, and as to the abbeys they were as much the property of the King to do what he liked with, as the farms on the cathedral estates of Canterbury were the Archbishop's. Anselm's remonstrance that the King was responsible for the care and upkeep of the abbeys and that it was not his property to be wasted as he pleased, only provoked another outburst of royal displeasure. The King would hear no more. Anselm, he said, had spoken in a way that Lanfranc would not have dared to speak to the King's father.

This was true enough. But it was no less true that a similar occasion could not have arisen to justify such a protest from Lanfranc. However, Anselm was not content to leave matters in this state and therefore he asked his bishops to find out why the King was unfriendly.

The bishops put their finger on the spot at once—money. "Give the King money," they told Anselm. "Give him money if you want to live at peace with him. Give him that five hundred marks and as much more, and you will soon find him your friend. This is the only way we know for ourselves and we can't see what else you can do."

But it was not and could never be Anselm's way, and he explained to the bishops that he would be ashamed to think of trying to buy the King's favour with money. As for offering again the five hundred marks that was impossible because the greater part of it was already spent on the poor.

William, when he heard of the Archbishop's words, had another outburst. "Never will I hold him as my father

and Archbishop," he said furiously, "and ever will I hate him with bitter hatred. I hated him much yesterday and to-day I hate him still more. He need wait here no longer to give his blessing. Let him go where he will."

So Anselm departed and the King sailed for Normandy and having wasted in an unsuccessful campaign all the money he had collected, came back to England.

A year later, at the end of February, 1095, at a great council of bishops and nobles held at Rockingham, in the castle built by the Conqueror in the vast woodlands of Derbyshire, the royal hatred had full vent. The question for the council was not papal supremacy — no one doubted that the Pope was head of the Church by divine authority — but whether in England there was any authority higher than the crown. Who was lord over ecclesiastics, bound to the King's service by their temporal possessions?

From the first the Archbishop of Canterbury had received from the Pope a *pallium*, a white woollen stole with four crosses* which was the badge of his office, the token of his dignity, and Anselm was anxious to journey to Rome and receive his *pallium* from Pope Urban.

William objected to this journey on the ground that he had not yet decided who was the rightful Pope — for the Emperor had set up Guibert, Archbishop of Ravenna, for Pope, calling this anti-pope Clement III — and until the King decided no one in England had a right to do so. To challenge the King's power on this point, was, William told Anselm, to deprive the King of his crown, neither

*Cranmer was the last Archbishop of Canterbury to receive the *pallium* from Rome; but the sign of this four-crossed stole still remains in the archiepiscopal arms of the Anglican occupants of Canterbury.

more nor less. Vainly did Anselm expostulate, pointing out that before he became Archbishop, he with all Normandy had acknowledged Urban, William angrily retorted that Anselm could not remain in obedience to the Pope without the King's permission.

Therefore to Rockingham came nobles and bishops, knights and clerks to decide this question of the seat of authority in England.

The real issue between the King and the Archbishop was the obedience of the latter to the law of the Church and the determination of Rufus to uphold at all costs the customs of his father. Papal authority versus Feudalism — that was the issue. Pope Urban II, duly elected, and already acknowledged by Anselm when he was Abbot, was the Pope and that settled the matter for Anselm. No national "customs" or royal privileges could affect the plain fact. Rufus, without denying that Urban was Pope, stood out against the right to appeal to Rome.

"It also seemed at the time," we are told, "that the King had strong desire to take from Anselm all authority for maintaining the Christian religion. For as long as anyone in all the land was admitted to hold power except through the King it seemed to the King that the royal dignity was diminished."

The Red King took no part in the council but remained in another part of the castle. Messengers, prelates these, passed to and fro from King to council and from council to King with reports of the proceedings. The bishops, with the exception of Gundulf of Rochester, the old student of Bec, were King's men. Many of them had bought their bishoprics; all were afraid of the royal displeasure. Above

all, they were in doubt and uncertainty as to the law of the Church. By no means was it clear to them, as it was to the Archbishop, that the Pope had no authority above the crown — except, of course, in spiritual things. Certainly the Pope was by divine decree supreme in the Church. The words of Christ, "Thou art Peter and on this rock I will build My church," expressed in all Christendom in the eleventh century the command of God that the Pope was supreme. But how that supremacy was exercised and whether it overruled in any circumstances the King's supremacy — such problems were vastly difficult with the King near at hand and the Pope far away.

Anselm in his opening address explained why they were met together. The King had not only said he forbade the Archbishop to go to Urban for the *pallium* because he had not yet acknowledged Urban as Pope, but he had declared that the Archbishop should have no place in the realm unless he acted in accordance with the King's wishes and gave the most definite assurance that he would refuse submission to the authority of Urban. On hearing these words of the King he was lost in wonder. Then Anselm went on to recall to the bishops assembled how against his own will he had been made Archbishop "and in all reverence and sincerity that but for God's will I would rather have been laid on a pile of burning faggots than raised to the archbishopric"; and how from the first he had warned them that he had already acknowledged Urban for Pope and that nothing would turn him from that allegiance. Had they not promised to help him when they forced the archbishopric upon him? Now the time had come when they could redeem that promise. Let them

all take counsel together and see if by any means he could remain in obedience to the apostolic see without departing from allegiance to the King. To the bishops present at the council Anselm appealed in especial. Let them show him how to keep faithful to the King without becoming disloyal to the Pope. It was a very grave matter to set at nought and despise the authority of the vicar of Christ; it was also a very grave matter not to keep faith promised, under God, to the King; and then it was further a very grave matter to be told that it was impossible to keep one loyalty without breaking the other.

The bishops declined to commit themselves; the Archbishop, they said, was wiser than they and should be their guide. If they might advise — it would be an unconditional surrender to the King's will.

On that the proceedings were adjourned till the morrow, and when on the Monday the Archbishop again put his question, again the bishops, and this time more emphatically, declared there was nothing to be done but to make full and unconditional submission to all that the King demanded. Then Anselm, finding such words intolerable, spoke out with fervour, for the fire was kindled. The chief shepherds and chiefs of the nation had given him no counsel, except to follow the will of a single man. From them and their King he turned to the supreme Shepherd and King of kings, to Christ Himself, the Angel of great counsel and there would he receive the counsel he sought. It was Christ who gave to St. Peter and to the Apostles and through them to their successors powers to bind and loose on earth and in heaven. No words of Christ suggested that such powers were given to any em-

peror or king, any duke or count. Christ had bidden them render to Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's, and to God the things that were God's. In all matters that were of God he would render obedience to the vicar of Christ, and in matters that belonged rightly to the state of his lord the King he would render, to the best of his abilities, faithful counsel and service.

The plain speaking provoked an uproar. The bishops refused point-blank to take such words to the King, and so Anselm himself went into the King's presence and gave him the same message. William wrathfully looked to the bishops to reply, but they were quite at a loss for words, and presently Anselm returned to the church and sitting down in his chair, and leaning his head against the wall, went quietly to sleep.

While he rested bishops and nobles pondered the situation. How could they deal with this fearless and devout Archbishop who in the midst of threats and royal imprecations calmly sat down and went to sleep?

They could but repeat their former opinion; the Archbishop was depriving the King of his honour by denying him the customs that belonged to the crown. And Anselm could only reiterate that it was impossible for him to withdraw his allegiance from Pope Urban. He added that it was getting late and that he would give his answer on the morrow "so that reflecting on the matter I may answer as God shall be pleased to direct me."

The impatience of his antagonists ruined their cause. William St. Calais, Bishop of Durham (Flambard's predecessor), made himself the King's advocate. He undertook to reduce the Archbishop to submission by the threat

that unless Anselm renounced the Pope he should be forcibly deprived of ring and crozier. Rufus approved; if the Archbishop gave up the Pope, the King's absolute rule would be manifest; better still would it be if the troublesome Archbishop was got rid of altogether.

So the Bishop of Durham spoke sharply and severely to the Archbishop, telling him of the King's displeasure, warning him that unless he at once renounced the right to declare Urban Pope before the King had decided between the rival claims, unless he at once restored the dignity he had taken from the royal crown, the King would call down the hatred of heaven upon him, and all King's men would support their lord.

The bluster left Anselm unmoved. He replied quietly that he was prepared to answer any charge of breaking faith with his earthly lord, because he declined to renounce his obedience to the Pope, but he would answer the charge: "As I ought and where I ought." And this meant — and the bishops, barons, and knights and all the crowd gathered in the castle of Rockingham knew that it meant — that there was no court in England that could judge the Archbishop of Canterbury, that the Pope alone in Christendom could sit in judgment on him.

Barons and knights were less craven than the bishops. They had an affection for this wise and brave old man who stood for the good life they revered — the more because it was not a life they followed. An unknown knight came forward and kneeling down before the Archbishop said, "Lord and father, through me your children pray you not to let your heart be troubled by what you have heard. Remember how blessed Job on his dung-

hill conquered the devil and so avenged Adam whom the devil had conquered in paradise."

It brought immense encouragement to Anselm, this spontaneous expression of sympathy. He saw that he was not alone and felt it to be true that the voice of the people was the voice of God.

The council adjourned, with the King railing at the bishops, with shouts and curses in the air. It reassembled on the Tuesday morning for the last time. St. Calais of Durham could think of nothing but expelling the Archbishop from England and forcibly depriving him of the archbishopric. (He had an eye on Canterbury, it seems, and saw himself as Anselm's successor.) The barons protested; the Archbishop was, after all, the first noble in the land and he was the spiritual father of them all. The King swore angrily; what did the barons want? Robert, Count of Meulan — no Norman upheld more stoutly the "rights" of the King against Anselm and the Pope — suggested that it was difficult to deal with the Archbishop. "When we are busy making our plans and taking counsel he goes to sleep and thinks no harm, and when he wakes up he says a single word and all our counsels are broken like cobwebs."

The King's last word was that all obedience must be withdrawn from the Archbishop and all protection refused. Such an ultimatum was expected to bring Anselm to his knees. It brought a calm and reasoned reply. The bishops were doing ill in withdrawing their obedience and friendship because their Archbishop held inviolate the obedience he owed to the Prince of the Apostles. But it was far from the Archbishop to render evil for evil, and he promised that he would continue to hold them as his

brethren and his children and do his best to bring them back from the error of their ways. They were misled by fear. As for the King, who had thus outlawed him, Anselm still held himself responsible for the spiritual welfare of his lord and, as far as the King allowed him, he would continue to give the King and the laws all the support in his power, just as he would still continue faithful to the service of God, remaining Archbishop of Canterbury, whatever happened to his worldly estate.

Again the King was put out, for while the bishops had abjectly agreed to do the King's bidding, the barons, when the King called upon them to do as the bishops had done and withdraw all support from Anselm, demurred. "No man then shall be mine who will be his, the Archbishop's," shouted the King, and the barons made answer, that they had never taken any oath of fealty to the Archbishop and therefore they could not abjure it. They were not the Archbishop's men, but he was their Archbishop. "It is his work to govern the Christian religion in this land and we who are Christians cannot deny his guidance while we live here, especially since not an atom of offence has he committed to make you act differently to him."

The three-day conference in that castle of Rockingham, in the wilds of Derbyshire, ended in a check on the King's hope of absolute autocracy. He would not acknowledge defeat but proposed to Anselm an adjournment of the whole question till Pentecost.

This the Archbishop accepted, as a truce, and returned to Canterbury. While the bishops who had deserted him and whose weakness had availed nothing were held in small respect, Anselm stood higher in the eyes of the men

of England, and the greater in the ill will of the King. What angered Rufus was not only this refusal to acknowledge an absolute monarchy, it was the bitterness of knowing his opponent held vast and exceedingly valuable estates. If Anselm could but be got rid of and a more pliable man put in his place, then much money could be extracted for the King from the tenants of the Archbishop of Canterbury. As for these papal claims that Anselm so persistently talked about — they clashed with the overlordship of the King and were a check on the full and free indulgence of the King's desires; Rufus would have no Pope overlordship him in England if he could help it, and no Archbishop who put the Pope before the King. Anselm must be driven out, somehow. For the present the King could make things unpleasant by banishing Baldwin of Tournai, Anselm's faithful steward, and by so persecuting the monks of Canterbury and the tenants of the diocese with vexatious charges at law that many said it would be better to be without a bishop than suffer as they did; for they were not so ill treated when they had no bishop.

Anselm saw one thing clearly, saw it steadily and saw it whole. The Pope was the spiritual head of all Christian peoples, and no "customs" of feudalism could diminish that overlordship.

Because the Norman barons and bishops were neither so clear-headed nor so single-minded they failed Anselm time and time again in his struggle with the royal tyranny. Gundulf of Rochester, being a monk of Bec, alone understood his Archbishop.

Nevertheless the holiness and the courage of Anselm won nearly all who came in personal contact with him.

Even Count Robert of Meulan, and no man was a greater stickler for the King's supremacy or more fierce an opponent of Anselm, confessed at Rockingham the difficulty of putting down this simple old Archbishop and in the end came over to Anselm's side. The presence of the Archbishop convinced. His character was incomprehensible to worldlings, who revered but felt uncomfortable, and longed for compromise.

Anselm's charity, for instance, was apt to puzzle his contemporaries. The largeness of his heart, with its immense compassion for all God's creatures, and its sense of kinship with the whole animal creation — compassion and kinship conspicuous in later saints, Hugh of Lincoln, Francis of Assisi, many others might be named — astonished the hunting men of the Red King's reign. The story, told far and wide, of Anselm's sermon to the harriers left men wondering what manner of Archbishop this holy monk might be.

Anselm was riding from the King's court at Windsor to his manor at Hayes in Middlesex, meditating as he rode, when a hare chased by the dogs of some of his company fell down panting under the very feet of his horse, as if he had found a refuge. At once Anselm pulled up and forbade the hare to be molested. When the escort made merry at the capture, thinking now that the hare was caught, Anselm rebuked their laughter; "You may laugh, but it is no laughing matter for this poor unhappy creature, which is like the soul of a departing man pursued by evil spirits. Mortal enemies attack it and it flies to us for its life; and while it turns to us for safety we laugh." Then

in a louder voice having told the dogs not to touch the hare, he rode on; the dogs not moving, the hare, thankful for its liberty, darted away to the fields and escaped to the woods.

Who could say what this man of God would do next?

VIII

THE APPEAL TO ROME

The Red King, bent on getting rid of Anselm, and so far disappointed, thought of a fresh device. He would get the Pope on his side and the Pope should remove this impossible Archbishop.

His mind made up, Rufus sent messengers to acknowledge Urban — that is, if they were satisfied Urban had proved stronger than the anti-pope — and to persuade the Pope in return to depose Anselm and to send the *pallium* to the King so that he might bestow it on a new archbishop appointed by the crown. It seemed to Rufus that having handsomely declared for Urban it was a small thing that he was asking of the Pope, and that in such a matter the Pope could do no less than oblige the King of England. To clinch the bargain Rufus promised a large annual contribution of Peter's pence. Gerard, afterwards Archbishop of York, and William of Warelwast, a Norman clerk of the King's court, were the royal envoys.

Pope Urban, with every desire to keep on good terms with the King of England — for what with the perpetual struggle with the emperor, the excommunication of Philip I of France, and the urgency of the first crusade, he had trouble enough on his hands — could, of course, neither depose Anselm nor send the *pallium* to the King. Far from truckling to kings Pope Urban, once a pupil of St.

Bruno, the founder of the Carthusians, at Reims, held stoutly to the standard of his great predecessor, Hildebrand, Pope Gregory VII. The Council of Clermont, the historic council of the first crusade, in that very year of Anselm's contest at Rockingham, decreed that from henceforth neither bishop nor priest might take the oath that made him the liegeman of his secular lord. Feudalism required this oath but to the Pope it was incompatible with the whole-hearted loyalty of service due to Christ and His vicar at Rome from every priest.

Anselm was not present in person at the council of Clermont. He was represented by Boso, an old and well-loved friend of Bec, whose name figures in the dialogues *Cur Deus Homo*.

The Pope willingly excused Anselm from coming to Rome in person and sent a papal legate, Cardinal Walter, Bishop of Albano, to England with the *pallium*. Instead of giving it to the King the legate placed the *pallium* on the high altar in Canterbury Cathedral. Whence Anselm, barefooted, arrayed in all his canonicals, and attended by numerous suffragans, solemnly removed it with his own hands and vested himself with it, on the second Sunday after Pentecost, 1095.

It had occurred to the bishops that the arrival of the *pallium* provided an excellent opportunity for Anselm to make peace with the King, in the usual way. And the King had thought so too. All the money the Archbishop had saved by not going to Rome to fetch the *pallium*, surely, they suggested, he could give that at the very least to the King? Anselm had to explain, as he had explained before, that never would he under any circumstances be a

party to the buying or selling of friendship with the King; and that was an end to it.

The bishops could make nothing of this stiffness of principle. Conscious as some of them were of their Archbishop's peculiar sanctity — and two members of the hierarchy, Osmund of Salisbury and Robert of Hereford, both strongly on the King's side at Rockingham, came to Anselm after the putting on of the *pallium* at Canterbury and begging his forgiveness were confessed and absolved — they did not desire to follow the narrow way. Not for them was the way of the cross, nor the strict rule of religion, and they told Anselm so plainly as the strife with the Red King continued.

The unhappy William St. Calais, Bishop of Durham, involved in rebellion against the Red King, cried on his deathbed for Anselm, and Anselm went to him and in the arms of the Archbishop, whom he had persistently thwarted, St. Calais died, forgiven and anointed.

But to require heroic virtue in daily life from his suffragans was to require more than human nature was equal to, and so they pointed out to Anselm when the Red King had brought about another crisis.

"Your conversation is in heaven, we know that, holy father," they said in all sincerity. "You are a man of religion and of holiness. But we are bound to this world by the friends and relations whom we have to think of, and there are besides important matters of business that we have to attend to and that we are interested in. We simply cannot afford to walk on the heights where you walk, or go with you in your contempt of the world."

At the same time, they went on to say, if the Arch-

bishop would only condescend to their level and walk in their way they would support him most loyally and make his cause their own. If not, well then, if he was determined to go on as he had begun, fixing his thoughts on God alone, he would be in the future as in the past a solitary figure. They on their part would not deny the fealty they owed the King.

Thus spoke the Bishops of Winchester, Lincoln, Salisbury, and Bath; and one of them (Osmund of Salisbury) had but two years before confessed his sorrow to Anselm for his defection at Rockingham. So unstable and perplexed were these bishops of the Red King when the crisis of 1097, provoked by the Archbishop's resolution to appeal to Rome, after he had been summoned to "do the King right" in the King's court, promised grave danger.

The ground of the summons was the failure to render the adequate military service.

The Archbishop of Canterbury was bound by feudal law (and this Anselm did not dispute), to provide from his tenantry troops for the King, and William had demanded such troops for his military expedition into Wales. The demand was in accord with law and approved by custom. But Anselm was ignorant of the requirements of soldiers on active service. What did he know of necessary equipment, of the physical standard of the men recruited? He was a man of peace, first and last, not as so many of his eleventh-century brethren, a mitred warrior. At the same time the Archbishop was no incompetent. He had the hard head that belongs to the tender heart and his capacity as an executive administrator had been proved in the long years at Bec. Only, to meet the hasty call for

men-at-arms in a way that would satisfy the King, was more than Anselm could accomplish.

Rufus returned from a moderately successful campaign against the Welsh full of wrath that the Archbishop had sent him such a miserable body of men; for the Canterbury contingent, it seems, made an exceedingly poor appearance and were, in fact, of no use in the field.

Now would the Red King have his revenge on the Archbishop, now would he teach his chief vassal the meaning of loyalty. Anselm would be compelled to pay; either a heavy fine or make a substantial present; in the latter case the suit would be dropped.

A short note was despatched to Anselm by a King's messenger, bidding him answer for his neglect to do the King right in the King's court.*

This threat of proceedings in the King's court, where no one could get judgment against the King nor justice, was for Anselm the last straw. From the time of his acceptance of the archbishopric he had hoped against hope that the King would support him as the Conqueror had supported Lanfranc in the building up of the Christian religion in England; this announcement of a summons in the King's court was the death blow to all these hopes. "We looked for peace but no good came, we looked for a time of health and found but trouble," said the Archbishop sadly when he read the King's message. He wrote no answer but went as usual to attend the Whitsuntide gathering of the King

*For the justice of the Red King's complaint concerning the knight service provided by Anselm in 1097 see *The First Century of English Feudalism*, by F. M. Stenton (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932).

and at the close of the assembly sent a request to the King to allow him to depart to Rome.

William at once pooh-poohed the request and expressed surprise. Why should he want to go to Rome, he asked? The Archbishop could not have committed any such grievous sin that he must needs get absolution from the Pope. As for getting advice from the Pope, he was far more fitted to give advice to the Pope than the Pope was to give it to him. William never underrated Anselm. What angered him was Anselm's refusal to put the crown before the Pope, his passive resistance to the royal tyranny, and reproof of evil living. Anselm's lively conscience was the offence.

The threatened proceedings were dropped but might at any time be resumed at the King's pleasure. Anselm persisted in his request, though barons and bishops sided with the King in resisting what was at that time regarded as an infringement of feudal custom. The Red King was as jealous as his father for the royal prerogative. There had been no appeal within the memory of living man from the King to the Pope, for the reformed papacy was but fifty years old. But Anselm had grown up in the confidence of a right of appeal from all earthly kings to the throne of the successor of St. Peter and nothing could persuade him otherwise. No oath of allegiance to earthly king could take away the higher allegiance to the Vicar of Christ and chief shepherd of Christendom.

In August and again in October Anselm renewed his request and in the end the Red King gave permission; but nothing must be taken that belonged to the King; which

meant that the King would take possession of the archiepiscopal estates. It was exile in addition to the forfeiture of all these estates to persist in the course he had taken; but for Anselm to consent to be deprived of the right to visit the Pope was to surrender his allegiance. To have forsworn his right of appeal as the King demanded would have been to forswear St. Peter, "and to forswear is to forswear Christ who has made St. Peter chief over His Church."

He went with no bitterness in his heart, commending the King to God, and blessing him as "a spiritual father to his beloved son," not knowing when he should see him again. And the Red King bowed his head to receive the blessing.

They did not meet again.

It was the end of October when Anselm crossed from Dover to Wissant (a port near Boulogne); he had but two companions, Baldwin of Tournai, his steward at Canterbury whom the King had banished, and Eadmer, his devoted secretary. As a last annoyance the Red King sent William of Warelwast to examine the Archbishop's baggage before he sailed.

IX

ANSELM IN ROME

As a monk and abbot Anselm arrived in England, and as a monk and an archbishop he departed; nothing of the state and dignity of an archbishop marked his going. They journeyed slowly, Anselm and his two companions, spending Christmas at Cluny and then staying with Archbishop Hugh at Lyons till winter was past and the passage across the Alps open to travellers. The passes of the Alps were being held by the Emperor Henry and the supporters of the anti-pope, but Anselm travelling as a simple monk escaped arrest at their hands as he did all injury from robbers. Strict watch was kept for the lord Archbishop of Canterbury, known as a supporter of Pope Urban and by common repute an ecclesiastic of great wealth, since he held a see of so high an importance. But the three monks who crossed into Italy by Mont Cenis — who would look for an Archbishop in such a guise? The identity of Anselm was never suspected, and after keeping Easter at a monastery in Lombardy he pushed on to the eternal city, to be most cordially received by the Pope.

All that could be given in the way of honour and kindly affection was gladly given to the distinguished visitor from England. Anselm was lodged in the Lateran and the Pope in welcoming him called upon the assembled cardinals to reverence their guest as “the pope and patriarch

of another world, in some sense our equal." But Pope Urban was an old man much beset with difficulties, and continually harassed by enemies. He could write a letter of remonstrance to the King of England and this he did — and little the Red King heeded it.

When the full heats of summer made Rome no fit dwelling place for strangers, Anselm cheerfully departed to stay with Abbot John, an old student of Bec, whose monastery near Telese on the Calore, in the neighbourhood of Benevento, had a small house on the edge of the Samian Apennines, at Schiavi. Here, in the peace of solitude and in the pure, cool air of the mountains, Anselm found rest and healing from the ways of men. Once more he lived the life of a monk, once more resumed the exercise of the mind his heart desired. Soon the peasants knew for a saint the wise and friendly old priest who had come to live among them, saw him as one who could help them in their need. And the great need of the village was water. Surely, since there was but one well for the whole village, and that inadequate, so holy and learned a man as their visitor could tell them where to sink a well? Anselm, moved by the petition, went out to an overhanging rock and there prayed fervently that God would remedy the distress and give His servants a supply of fresh water. Then Anselm struck the rock three times, and after he had bored a small hole in its surface the peasants did their part by enlarging the hole. When they had worked for a few days the reward came, for a fountain of pure, sweet water gushed from the rock.

The name of St. Anselm for many centuries belonged

to the well at Schiavi, with its unfailing supply of fresh water.*

For a while the tranquillity was interrupted when the Pope came to the camp of Roger, the Norman Duke of Apulia, who was besieging the city of Capua (which had revolted from his rule) and Anselm was invited to join him. Pope and Archbishop talked much of affairs in England, and as every despatch from that country brought news of the Red King's outrages, of his violence to religion, and his expressed animosity against the absent primate, Anselm implored the Pope to allow him to resign the archbishopric, since it was but too plain he could do no good nor ever work with King William. But the Pope would not hear of any resignation; the Archbishop must attend a great council to be held in Bari in the autumn — and Anselm went back to his cell on the everlasting hills and to his deep studies.

It was that summer of respite and untroubled serenity of heart that enabled Anselm to finish his greatest theological work, the *Cur Deus Homo*. He had begun it in England, turning for relief to the profoundest problems of thought when anguish and anxiety were his portion. Now it was finished and published because, as its author explained, certain parts of the book had been copied out and circulated without the author's permission and before he had completed and revised the text.

In October Anselm obediently went to Bari; and thither

*Schiavi was called Liberi in the nineteenth century. Naturally the neighbourhood is much changed in the course of eight hundred years and I know not if the well of Sancto Anselmo still exists.

came a number of bishops from the Eastern Church at the invitation of Pope Urban to consult with their brethren of the West on the doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Spirit. The Pope himself opened the discussion and his arguments were challenged by the Greeks. After a while, being hard pressed to answer objections and questions directed against his words, the Pope called upon Anselm to address the assembly on the following day, telling the council at the same time how much the "Archbishop of the English" had suffered for justice' sake. Eager to see and hear this "Archbishop of the English" — a quite unknown person to most of them — the Greeks crowded forward when the council met next morning, and at the end of Anselm's long discourse there was nothing heard but murmurs of approval and admiration. This famous disquisition, spoken, his hearers said, as by one inspired, Anselm later set out as a formal treatise under the title *De Processione Spiritus Sancti*, and it remains a powerful and luminous piece of work, exhibiting the author's gifts in the realm of pure reason and the capacity to set down lucidly the most abstruse subtleties.

The theological session ended, the Pope appealed to the council on behalf of Anselm and set out the gross ill-treatment he had received at the hands of the King of England. With one accord the bishops, Eastern and Western alike, when they heard the tale of wrongdoing committed by William, pronounced that he should be excommunicated; and excommunicated he would have been but for Anselm's intercession. Perhaps it was remembrance of the Red King's father or the perception of some streak of goodness in the monarch who had treated him so badly

that moved Anselm to implore the Pope to withhold the excommunication. Anyway, Pope Urban yielded and because of the prayer of his Archbishop the Red King was not put outside the pale of the church.

The council of Bari broke up and Anselm went with Pope Urban to Rome to take up his old quarters in the palace of the Lateran.

To Rome also at that time came an envoy from the Red King, William Warelwast, who in audience with the Pope explained that as Anselm had deliberately left England after the King had threatened he would confiscate the see if he went, the King had not acted unjustly in carrying out his threat, nor could he be justly censured or blamed.

The Pope replied that it was monstrous that a primate should be robbed of his temporal possessions because he decided to visit Rome, the mother of all churches. Nothing so outrageous had been heard since the world began. Unless the Red King reinstated Anselm in all his possessions without delay sentence of excommunication would most assuredly be pronounced at the forthcoming council to be held shortly in Rome.

Warelwast, not in the least abashed, asked for a private audience, and though it is improbable that the Pope himself was bribed,* it is certain that both money and promises were handsomely distributed to a number of papal officials by Warelwast, with the result that sentence was postponed; the Red King was eventually given nine months grace for amendment — to Michaelmas, 1099.

*Eadmer does not suggest it; later writers, William of Malmesbury, for example, make Pope Urban himself receive money.

Anselm now recognised that the Pope, beyond mitigating the discomforts of exile, could do nothing for him. Pope Urban could make exile honourable but he was in no position to remonstrate effectually with the King of England. The cardinals preached patience.

When the council assembled at the Lateran in April, 1099, Anselm was given a seat of high dignity; and there he sat while decrees were passed reaffirming all the canons of Pope Gregory VII against the investiture of clerics by laymen, and placing under the ban of the Church not only the laymen who should claim fealty from a clerk, but all clerics giving fealty (i.e., becoming "the men" of king or baron) to laymen, and all who consecrated clerics so invested as bishops; all clerics, in short, who paid homage for their temporalities, the landed property of the see or benefice, to laymen.

These decrees struck at the very foundation of the feudal system, and were an attempt to root up the abuses of lay patronage. They went beyond the decrees of Hildebrand and, by forbidding homage for landed estates, challenged directly the customs of England and Normandy. Nothing less drastic, it was judged, could save the Church in England and elsewhere from the evils that beset its discipline under the Red King and other unscrupulous monarchs. Further decrees dealt with simony and the illicit unions of priests and concubines.

Reinger, Bishop of Lucca, chosen to read aloud to the council the canons it had decreed because he was of commanding stature and of a clear, powerful voice, broke off his reading after a little while and, moved with emotion, said abruptly:

“But what are we doing? We are placing the burdens of our laws on men and doing nothing to stop the ruthlessness of tyrants. Daily are complaints of the oppressed brought here, every day comes the story of the wrongs inflicted by some tyrant. Counsel and help are asked for as from the head of all the churches. And with what result is all too plainly seen and known throughout the world. Even now one is sitting here who has come amongst us from the ends of the earth. He sits among us, silent and humble; but his very silence cries aloud, his patience and humility by their lowliness are the higher exalted to God and should the more awaken us. He has come here, he of whom I speak, wronged and afflicted to ask for justice and equity from the apostolic see. More than a year has passed since he came and what help has he received? If there is anyone who does not know what I mean, I am speaking of Anselm, Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury.”

And on that the Bishop of Lucca, with teeth clenched in indignation, struck the floor violently with his crozier three times.

“Enough, enough, Father Reinger,” cried the Pope, disconcerted, “good counsel shall be given on this matter.”

“There need be,” replied the Bishop of Lucca. “Else it will not be passed over by Him who judges justly.”

With that he resumed the reading of the canonical decrees, and beyond a brief allusion at the end of the reading the council dissolved without further mention of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Nothing remained to keep Anselm in Rome, the council being over, and with the Pope’s consent he set off to Lyons, where his old friend, Archbishop Hugh, welcomed

him. On the way he stayed a while with his only sister, Richera, now married and the mother of a youth also named Anselm. (This nephew, being strongly called to the monastic life, left home with his uncle and lived to become abbot of St. Edmund's at Bury, in Suffolk.)

Hardly had Anselm reached Lyons, than news came of the death of Urban and of the election of Pascal II, another monk of Cluny, in his stead. The Red King on hearing of Urban's death remarked, "May the hate of God fall on him who minds it." Then, going on to ask what sort of man his successor was and being told "one in many respects like Anselm," he answered, "By the Face of God, if he is like that he is no good. Let him keep himself to himself, this time his popeship won't get the better of me. Now I will use my freedom and please myself." Thereupon he appointed Ranulf of Flambard, who already held Winchester and numerous abbeys, to the great see of Durham. With the spoils and with an energy that only death could stop, the Red King triumphantly took his way in England and Normandy.

A year later he was dead.

At Lyons Anselm worked quietly at a treatise on the Conception of Our Lady and Original Sin and at a meditation on the Redemption of the World. He helped in the archdiocese, visiting various towns to give confirmation, notably Vienne and Macon, and the abbeys at Cluny and of Chaise Dieu near Brieu de in Auvergne. He preached and said Mass and healed the sick who were brought to him, the sick of mind and the sick of body. Among the people of that countryside there grew up an immense and

wonderful love for Anselm, they spoke of his great goodness far and wide.

Once during that residence at Lyons the Red King sent commissioners to Archbishop Hugh with terms for the submission and return of Anselm, terms that could not be accepted. And once more Anselm appealed to Rome, mentioning the embassy from the King of England and putting his case before Pope Pascal II. He was now in the third year of his exile. In England he had been able neither to correct the wrongdoing nor could he tolerate it without grave scandal. The King had forbid him to recognise the Pope or appeal to him without first obtaining royal permission, he allowed no Church councils to be called, he gave away the lands of the Church to his own men, and even the Archbishop's own suffragans would do nothing unless it was the King's will. When he asked the King's leave to visit the apostolic see, the King regarded the request as an offence and only allowed him to go as the alternative to promising that he would make no appeal to the Pope. Unable to give that promise the King on his departure had seized all the property of the archdiocese, depriving the monks of food and clothing. Now it was only by the charity and generosity of the good Archbishop of Lyons that he, Anselm, was supported. At the same time he was anxious not to return to England unless he could place God's law and God's will above the will of man. To go back and submit to the injustice and tyranny of the King would be to give countenance to evil and to set up a dreadful precedent. As to excommunicating the King, as some had suggested, it seemed not altogether just that he

should both lay the complaint and execute sentence; besides there was only too much reason to believe that the King would only treat such a sentence with contempt and ridicule.

It seemed better to Anselm to live in penury and exile than to connive at injustice and consent passively to wrongs he could not prevent. He felt himself an old man with but few years to live.

On August 2, in that same year, 1100, Rufus in the heyday of his might fell by the arrow in the New Forest in Hampshire, and within a week two monks were at Chaise Dieu, where Anselm was staying, with the news of the King's death. Anselm fell into bitter weeping that his adversary was dead. Then quickly he returned to Lyons; where messengers came swiftly from his monks at Canterbury and from the great nobles of England calling him home.

So Anselm bade farewell to his friend, Archbishop Hugh, to the people of Lyons who lamented his going, and started for England. At Cluny a special messenger met him with a letter from the new King, Henry I, bidding "his spiritual father Anselm" return speedily, for his council was needed, the church of Canterbury was distressed by his absence, and the entire nation wanted him back.

The letter promised the co-operation that Anselm desired.

X

RELATIONS WITH HENRY

Henry's real policy, and he made it clear to Anselm at their first meeting, was the re-establishment of his father's position in Church and state. Law and order, the strong hand. The King over all. In matters ecclesiastical the Archbishop would be as Lanfranc was, and the bishops and abbots must be efficient and good-living clerks; appointed by the crown, invested by the crown with authority as servants of the crown; in every way "king's men." The "customs" of the Conqueror would be strictly observed by his youngest son. The Pope must understand that his spiritual supremacy in the Church did not empower the successor of St. Peter to interfere with the royal prerogatives. At the same time the scandals and abuses of the prerogative by the Red King were at an end.

All this Anselm heard soon after his arrival at Dover on September 23. The King in his letter had advised the Wissant and Dover route because of the unsettled state of Normandy.

As a token that the bad days of Rufus were ended the King had already lodged Ranulf the Torch in the Tower of London, and in a charter given at his coronation he had specifically declared that he "made the Church of God free"; free from all buying and selling of benefices, with no revenues of bishoprics and abbeys to be confiscated to the crown during a vacancy.

But "freedom" of the Church meant something more to Anselm than the prohibition of positive wrong; it meant the freedom of appeal to the apostolic see, freedom of access to the Vicar of Christ, free to obey the canons of the Church. It meant, this "freedom," what it meant to St. Thomas of Canterbury a few years later, the freedom of the Church from the absolute rule of the King, freedom from interference of the State in all matters ecclesiastical. For the Church to be free it must be free of the feudal "customs" that made its chief shepherds, the bishops and abbots, vassals of the crown.

Therefore, when Anselm went to Salisbury, where Henry held his court, and was told by the King that he looked to the Archbishop to do him homage and that he proposed to reinstate him as Archbishop by a fresh act of investiture, Anselm explained, simply and quietly, that these things could not be done. Canons of the Church, decrees of great councils forbade them. Anselm himself had been present at one of these councils when the old canons were reaffirmed. If the King were willing to abide by these canons of the Church, then they could work together. If not, it were better for the Archbishop to go away whence he had come. To stay in England and disobey the supreme head of the Church would be intolerable and impossible; to stay while he could not be in communion with those who deliberately broke the laws of the Church was to be useless. The King must say plainly what his decision was so that the Archbishop would then know what to do.

The King could not give the plain answer that Anselm asked of him. It was too much, he felt, to surrender these investitures and the homage of bishops and abbots. It was

like giving up half his kingdom. On the other hand, he could not afford to let Anselm go; for that might easily mean that his brother Robert, Duke of Normandy, would get Anselm on his side, and Robert, back from the crusade, was already planning the invasion of England. Robert, no doubt, would promise complete submission to all the Pope's claims. Besides, Henry felt none too secure in England. There were many who resented his measures of reform, who preferred the lawless ways of the Red King. Others, being Norman barons, would rally to Robert as the elder brother and the good Norman.

Henry temporised.

Anselm should be placed in full possession of Canterbury and of all the estates of the archdiocese and the whole question should be adjourned till Easter while the matter was referred to the Pope. So it was left at that; Anselm content to take up the Archbishop's burden and to serve the King and the nation to the best of his judgment until Pope Pascal should decide otherwise. That Pope Pascal would reverse the decisions of his predecessors was incredible.

Henry had also immediate reason for keeping the Archbishop's good will. He wanted an English wife, and in particular he wanted Edith, the daughter of St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland, who came of the long line of English kings from Alfred the Great. Edith, when her parents died in 1093, had been placed under the care of her aunt, the abbess of Romsey Abbey in Hampshire, and she had worn the nun's dress while the Red King ruled. Her aunt would have persuaded her to the religious life, but Edith would not be persuaded, persisting that never had she

taken and never would she take the solemn vows of religion. Edith was ready to marry Henry, desired indeed to do so, when he urged his suit.

But Henry could not afford to marry without the consent of the ecclesiastical authorities and therefore since churchmen doubted such marriage lawful, some holding the lady to be a nun, he appealed to Anselm to do him right in this matter. And Anselm did for Henry what Lanfranc had done for William the Conqueror, he approved a marriage that was as honourable as William's. But first the Archbishop called an assembly of clergy and laity and put before them the facts of the case concerning Edith's residence in the abbey of Romsey. Then, on their verdict that the lady was in no way bound by vows of religion from entering on marriage, Anselm himself officiated in Westminster Abbey when Henry married Edith on November 11. And Edith, taking the name Matilda, became the "good Queen Maud" to her subjects; a beautiful and gifted woman, the worthy daughter of Queen Margaret of Scotland, devoted to her husband, and full of zeal for religion. Though without vocation of a nun she cherished for Archbishop Anselm a grateful affection that endured till his death. The marriage, popular with the English people, though not with all the Norman barons, strengthened Henry's position. That no impediment stood in the way Anselm never doubted. Still it was said by certain of the clergy that at least a dispensation ought to have been obtained, and that the Archbishop was to be blamed for acting so liberally. Opportunities for dispensations should never be missed according to these critics. Relaxation of rules was dangerous. True, the lady might not have

taken solemn vows, but she had certainly worn the nun's habit, and prudence suggested a dispensation, with the necessary fees that accompanied dispensations, as the better way.

Anselm knew nothing of these scruples. Dispensations were not for him matters of fees and money payments. Dispensations were necessary when the laws of the Church definitely ordered them. When occasion did not require them, and he was completely satisfied of the truth of Edith's story, Anselm was the last man to think of such things as dispensations. He walked with God, following the way of saints and treading the paths of philosophy; and therefore he was not troubled by scruples. For his mind was set on the eternal truths and his heart went out to God and all God's children.

The marriage of the King presented no difficulties to Anselm; willingly, without thought of dispensations, he blessed the royal bride and bridegroom with the blessing of the Church.

Willingly, too, did Anselm stand by the King when Duke Robert threatened the peace of the kingdom. Robert, being the elder, decided he had the right to the throne of England, notwithstanding that his father had given him Normandy and that Henry had been accepted by the English and lawfully crowned their king.*

To Anselm Henry was King, *de facto* no less than *de jure*. Henry had been approved by the country's barons, by the lords of England, spiritual and temporal. He had

*The crown in those days never went as a matter of course to the eldest son. The king would bequeath it to whom he would, and the people through their chief men would, or would not, accept the heir as the rightful ruler.

been solemnly anointed King. The Duke of Normandy, stirred and encouraged by the troublesome Bishop of Durham, that restless Ranulf the Firebrand, who had escaped from the Tower of London, was wrong in the eyes of Anselm in planning the invasion of England and therefore should be justly resisted.

The barons were uncertain; some inclined to Henry, others favoured Robert. The influence of Anselm turned the scale decisively in Henry's favour. The barons had chosen Anselm to be their umpire in all questions between themselves and the King, when the latter, suspecting disaffection, called an assembly of his chief tenants and promised to rule the whole kingdom by just and holy laws; and in the great hall of Westminster, which the Red King had built, Anselm, with his hand in the King's, witnessed the compact. In spite of this solemn agreement several of the barons were inclined to rally to Robert on the news that the Duke of Normandy had actually landed at Portsmouth.

Then Anselm took a decisive step. He brought the hesitating barons personally to the King who reassured them concerning his fidelity to the laws and customs of the land, and then, before them all, Anselm spoke of the shame of breaking faith, and appealed to all to remember their promises to the King and to stand loyally to their word.

Harsh and violent men were these Norman barons, caring little for promises made by kings or given to kings; readier at war than in following the arts of peace, men of strong passions and ill disposed to obedience. But they knew Anselm, this frail old man, for their Archbishop, knew him for one who walked with God and whose coun-

sels were of God; his very holiness awed them. His patience, firmness of purpose, and humility were irresistible. With one accord they held back from changing sides; not a man among them went over to Duke Robert.

And Robert, the crusader, was not prepared to wage war in England when he found instead of the promised support an army larger than his own ready to engage him, and Archbishop Anselm prepared to excommunicate all who should violate justice by invading England. Robert wisely made peace and transhipped his forces to Normandy. And on his departure it was said in England that but for Archbishop Anselm, King Henry would have lost both his crown and his life.

It is certain that Henry was alive to the danger, for in the hour of peril so anxious was he for the support of Anselm — and he was too shrewd to undervalue that moral support — that he vowed should Robert be defeated the Pope should have his complete obedience and the Church his full service. The indebtedness to Anselm in that exceedingly critical hour was never denied; in all the controversy that was to follow, the King retained a respect and showed a regard for his adversary; displaying a courtesy commonly absent in the strife of princes with clergy.

The respect and the regard were sincere, but to abide by promises made under stress of imminent danger at the cost of sacrificing the royal prerogatives was more than Henry could do when the danger was over.

The controversy was renewed with the arrival of the long-delayed letter from Pope Pascal. It was the answer Anselm expected. The Pope expressed the utmost good will and every desire to oblige the King of the English;

but the demand to enjoy the right and the power of making bishops and abbots by investiture — for that was what the King's request amounted to — was an exorbitant and a profane usurping of the power that belonged to God. Christ was the door and by that door true shepherds must enter the fold. Bishops who entered on their office were as thieves and robbers, if they came not by the door of Christ but climbed in on the prerogatives of kings. St. Ambrose in his day had told the emperor there could be no imperial dominion over the Church. The palace belonged to the emperor, the Church to the priest. Hence, the King's claim to be maker and lord of bishops could never be acknowledged in the Catholic Church.

Thereupon Henry called Anselm to the court and before the chief nobles and bishops of the realm — all of whom sided with the King — requested the Archbishop to do homage to the crown and to consecrate to vacant bishoprics the clerks nominated by the King. If the Archbishop would not comply, let him leave the country, for the King swore he would not lose the "customs" of his father, nor would he have any man in his realm who was not a "king's man."

Anselm could only say once more that his first obedience was due to the sovereign commands of the Church and the decrees of its councils. To violate these commands and canons was to make himself excommunicate. His present duty was to return to his diocese; there he should remain until he was expelled by force.

To use violence against the Archbishop was out of the question. At the same time Henry still believed he could get the Pope to allow him the feudal privileges enjoyed by

his father, William the Conqueror. It was the Pope's attitude, Henry recognised, that kept Anselm from supporting him. The Archbishop back at Canterbury was invited to join the King at Winchester, and at Winchester the King suggested another deputation to Pope Pascal. An important embassy — three to explain the King's position to the Pope and two to represent the Archbishop — would accomplish more than could be done by mere letter writing.

Anselm willingly agreed, choosing Baldwin, his late companion, and Alexander, a monk of Christchurch, Canterbury, for his delegates; two men whom he loved and trusted. The King's envoys were Gerard, formerly clerk of the Red King's court and now Archbishop of York; Herbert, Bishop of Norwich; and Robert, Bishop of Chester. The mission was, of course, a failure as far as the King was concerned; but Archbishop Gerard, backed by his episcopal brethren, by way of placating the King, concocted a queer story: that the Pope, while publicly declaring the King's request impossible, had in private assured them that the King would not be excommunicated if he invested good men and that Anselm need not insist on literal obedience to the papal letter forbidding royal investitures. Baldwin and Alexander protested indignantly against this story. Anselm, conscious of falsehood he could not disprove, was driven to send once more to Rome for a definite answer as to the truth of the alleged messages sent by brother Gerard of York.

In the meantime, as a reasonable compromise, since a doubt existed as to the reply from Rome, the King might nominate and invest with bishoprics and the Archbishop

would neither consecrate nor excommunicate until the final word came from the Pope.

Henry promptly presented two of his clerks to bishops: Roger, his chancellor — a priest from Caen and long one of Henry's loyalist servants — to Salisbury, and Reinelm, the Queen's chancellor, to Hereford. Then, breaking his agreement, called upon the Archbishop to consecrate these two along with William Giffard, Bishop-Elect of Winchester. Giffard for all that he was an experienced minister of the crown, first of the Conqueror, then chancellor of the Red King, and a thoroughly reliable and hard-working civil servant, was more than that; for the clergy and laity of Winchester desired him for their bishop and he had been invested before the prohibition was made absolute. Anselm was prepared to consecrate Giffard, but to consecrate the royal nominees to Salisbury and Hereford was to sanction the bad business of royal investitures, that very subordination of the episcopate to the crown that was expressly forbidden by Pope and council. Anselm, much distressed in mind at the King's summons to do this unlawful thing, gravely declined. Thereupon Henry required Gerard, Archbishop of York, to consecrate these bishops, and Gerard was quite willing to do what he was told. But now it was the King's bishops who drew back. Roger alone submitted to the King's orders. Giffard who had said all along that he would not be consecrated without Anselm's blessing, refused point-blank to be consecrated by Gerard. Reinelm brought back the staff and ring with which the King had invested him, expressed his sorrow for having received them, and said that he felt that to be consecrated by the Archbishop of York would bring a curse upon him.

Henry was powerless to bring these two contumacious, conscientious clerks to a different mind. Reinelm he drove ignominiously from the court. Giffard, indifferent to threats and expostulations, despoiled of all he possessed, was banished from the realm to take refuge in Normandy. The remonstrances of Anselm went unheeded by the King.

One thing, however, which Anselm did get from the King in that year 1102 — and he had tried in vain to get it before — was the King's authority for a council or convocation of the chief men, bishops, abbots, and secular barons of the realm, to deal with the moral disorders that ravaged the land. It was long since synods had been called to check abuses and the canons of 1102 had the force of law.

Irregularities of clerical life and the flagrant vices of the age were the main concern of the council. A number of abbots were deprived because they had bought their offices; parochial clergy, living as though married, were ordered to put away their concubines or suffer deprivation; bishops were forbidden to preside over secular courts; archdeacons were required to be in holy orders, the diaconate at least, and to perform their appointed duties and not to farm them out to laymen. Gross and prevalent homosexual vice was ordered by the canons of the council to be punished with heavy penalties,* and the slave trade, which was chiefly with Ireland, denounced as that "Wicked trade by which men are bought and sold as

*This particular sin was not made a capital offence in England till the reign of Edward VI, when in the moral disorders of the Protestant reformation its prevalence was again notorious. In the nineteenth century the death sentence no longer followed conviction and penal servitude was substituted.

though they were the beasts that perish," was specially condemned.* The canons passed at the council of London were no sooner passed into law than all sorts and conditions of men were found to be law-breakers. Nor could evils so long tolerated be quickly exterminated. But Anselm had rallied the better spirits of the country to the standard of decency, open wrong was no longer condoned, and the very transgressors were shamed into amendment of life.

The King approved the work of the council; his orderly mind hated irregularities. But he still fretted at the papal restraint on his rule, still fancied he could get the Pope to make an exception in his favour. Pope Pascal did nothing to encourage this vain fancy, for he wrote to Anselm endorsing the papal pronouncements in the letters sent by Gerard of York. Anselm, himself, would not open this letter except in the King's presence, because, if the seal were broken, the King might say the letter was not genuine; and the King declared he didn't want to read it. It was opened by Anselm after his departure, and contained the excommunication of the Archbishop of York for his infamous falsehood and of all prelates invested by the King.

At mid-Lent in the following year, 1103, Henry suddenly appeared at Canterbury and told Anselm the time had come for a final settlement of the dispute. The prerogatives of the crown were no concern of the Pope.

*According to William of Malmesbury the slave trade between England and Ireland had been already suppressed by Lanfranc and St. Wulstan. Like other wrongdoing, the slave trade persisted in spite of this suppression.

“What have I to do with the Pope?” Henry called out impatiently. “The rights of my father are mine; anyone who tries to deprive me of what is my own is my enemy.”

Anselm answered quietly that it was far from him to wish to deprive the King of anything that was his own, but that not even to save his life could he consent to act against the decrees which he had heard pronounced at Rome. As the Holy See had forbidden what the King asked for, unless the Holy See withdrew its prohibition Anselm had no choice but to obey.

For some days the King argued and threatened, while anxiety and distress were general for fear of personal violence to the Archbishop. Then the King abruptly changed his tone. He appealed to Anselm to go to Rome in person and to do his best with the Pope so that some arrangement might be made that would not mean the loss of the King's rights.

Anselm said he would go if at the King's Easter court the chief men of the realm wished him to go; and when at Easter the King's council supported the King in his request there was nothing left but to depart. Anselm told the council that he was now an old man — he was seventy — and weak in body, only with such strength as God gave him could he undertake the journey and hope to reach the end. Since they wished it he was ready. Should he arrive at the Apostolic See they must all understand that it was impossible for him to do anything that would be against the freedom of the Church or against his own honour. He would only bear witness to facts.

That, the council explained, was all that was asked of

him, for the King was sending his own envoy to Rome too, with petitions, and the Archbishop's part was but to confirm the envoy's statement.

Anselm assured the council in reply that he never would be found to contradict anyone who spoke the truth.

It was the end of April, four days after the King's council at Winchester, that Anselm left England on this last journey to Rome. His faithful companions were two monks of Canterbury, Eadmer and Alexander.

XI

THE SECOND EXILE

Little good could he do by staying in England, of that Anselm was painfully aware. He could not consecrate a bishop — since the King would have only his own men for bishops — without violating the authority of the Church and his own conscience. He saw the episcopate, his suffragans, with a few honourable exceptions, ranged with the King and the court party against their primate. It seemed almost impossible to get the nobles to understand that this issue was no mere question of rival claims of pope and king, but was a contest for the freedom of the Church — the very life of the Church; that when the pope pronounced judgment on things concerning the discipline and order of the Church he must be obeyed, his word undisputed because he was supreme head and his voice the voice of God's vicar on earth. To Anselm the days of absolute rule by kings were ended. It was useless to talk to him of the "customs" of William the Conqueror as though a royal prerogative had the eternal sacredness of God's commands. Once more, then, there was nothing for it but the journey to Rome, once more the Holy See would give the word.

Anselm travelled slowly, lingering happily at the abbey at Bec, visiting an old fellow student, Ivo, now Bishop of Chartres and already a famous canonist and compiler of ecclesiastical decrees. At Chartres, too, lived Henry's wid-

owed sister, Adela, countess of Blois, whose husband, Stephen the Crusader, had but recently been slain in the Holy Land, and who held Anselm in great regard and affection as her spiritual father. It was a very hot summer, a summer long remembered for its heat, and not till the end of August did Anselm finally leave Bec. He was in Rome, back in his old rooms in the Lateran, in the early autumn to find the King's usual envoy, William Warelwast, awaiting him. When in due course Pope Pascal fixed a day for the King of England's appeal, Warelwast eloquently pleaded his master's cause, enlarging on the magnificence and generosity of the King of England, hinting at the loss to Rome if the King were denied the rights of his father, William the Conqueror. So well he spoke that many in the papal court who heard him were charmed and murmured their applause.

Pope Pascal and Archbishop Anselm said nothing. Warelwast, warmed by an appreciative audience, became more emphatic. "Let all who hear me know," he cried vehemently, "that the King of the English will not give up his investitures, not even to save his kingdom."

On that Pope Pascal broke silence and answered: "And Pope Pascal will not grant him these investitures, not even to save his head. This I say in the presence of God."

Warelwast knew that the Pope meant what he said and that as far as his embassy was concerned there was nothing more to be done. Rome had spoken, the case was finished.

Anselm was the first to leave, and he went under the escort of Matilda, Countess of Tuscany, the same valiant woman who had contended for Hildebrand and Pope Urban against the anti-pope of the emperor. Warelwast over-

took him in the Apennines and they travelled together till the passes of the Alps were crossed; parting company before Lyons was reached, for Anselm was to spend Christmas in that city and Warelwast was in a hurry to get back to England. Before separating, Warelwast delivered a message from the King, a message that was sent with every assurance of affection and friendship. If things had but gone as he hoped at Rome, Warelwast explained, the message need never have been delivered. As it was, there was no help for it. The message was that if the Archbishop returned to England to be what his predecessor was to the King's predecessor then he would be gladly welcomed.

"And that is all you have to tell me?" Anselm asked.

"I speak to a man who understands," said the envoy significantly.

"Yes, I do understand," Anselm answered.

It was a sentence of exile; Anselm did not misunderstand the King's message. If he could not be as Lanfranc was to the Conqueror, his return was not expected. Once more Anselm threw himself on the hospitality of his old friend Archbishop Hugh and made Lyons his home.

The deadlock lasted for more than eighteen months. Anselm wrote to Henry to make sure that Warelwast had given his message correctly and to reiterate that he could not be as Lanfranc was, for the simple reason that the Holy See had prohibited investitures and ordered bishops so invested by the King to be excluded from communion. In the King's peace and with full power to act as primate of the Church, willingly would he return to fulfill his office faithfully and serve the King. If the King would not have his Archbishop back on these terms, Anselm did not

think he, the Archbishop, could justly be blamed for any spiritual hurt to the kingdom.

The Pope also sent a letter to the King by Warelwast, a fatherly letter, congratulating Henry on the birth of his son William, and urging him to give up investitures, which were no part of the prerogative of kings but belonged to the sovereignty of God.

Henry, firmly persuaded that the Pope would yield in time and that Anselm was the obstacle, corresponded with both, writing always in civil strain and considerable politeness, but harping in his letters to Anselm on the old question, why couldn't Anselm be to him what Lanfranc was to his father?

Others wrote to Anselm; his Canterbury monks, complaining bitterly of the harsh treatment they were receiving (for the King had taken possession of the revenues of the diocese while allowing Anselm a small income from the spoils), and of the distress and robbery of the Church throughout the land. The Archbishop was to be blamed for deserting his flock. Queen Matilda wrote as "his lowly handmaid" to her "exalted lord and father," imploring him to find a way to end the dispute with the King, for God's people were on the brink of ruin, praying him to soften the severity of his heart.

They all seemed to think Anselm was responsible for the wretchedness that had fallen on England in his absence, and over and over again Anselm had tried to make it plain that he was not responsible, he was but obeying the Pope. If the Pope decided to repeal the decree forbidding investiture by kings, Anselm was ready to be as Lan-

franc was; if the Pope forbad such investiture, Anselm must obey the Pope. First and last obedience to the Holy See was for Anselm the governing principle; first and last he was a monk, vowed to holy obedience.

And nothing that man could do, no appeal, nor threat, nor reproach from friend or foe could move this gentle old man who, growing old in wisdom, had the clear mind that distinguished right from wrong and the grace to cleave to the right, not seeing it possible to do otherwise. Royal prerogative and investiture were not of themselves right or wrong; they were wrong only when the successor of St. Peter declared them wrong. Anselm saw the evil done by the feudal rights of kings usurping the rights of God's vicar, but he argues neither against the absolute exercise of the royal prerogative, nor against the absolute rule of the king. It was forbidden by the Pope this thing, and therefore since forbidden must not be done. Anselm himself had heard the law given against this royal claim to invest bishops with the insignia of their office.

Pope Pascal, without ever yielding the point, did his best to conciliate the King of the English, and embassies came and went, Baldwin remaining at Rome as the Archbishop's agent. So the dispute dragged wearily on and Anselm found himself turned seventy, when on a morning near the end of March, 1105, he received a letter from the Pope announcing the excommunication of Henry's evil counsellors (and, by name, Robert, Count of Meulan, the King's ablest adviser), and of those prelates who had accepted investiture from the King, "for they attempt to turn the freedom of the Church into bondage."

But the Pope had delayed the excommunication of the King, because the embassy expected from the King in the previous year had not yet arrived.

On receipt of this letter Anselm decided he must act. It was quite useless to stay any longer at Lyons waiting for the Pope to take a firm line with Henry, for the Pope was always putting it off; and no reply had come from Henry to the protest of Anselm against the King's seizure of the Archbishop's estates, while the demand for the restitution of the property of the see of Canterbury had been met with polite evasions.

The time had come when Anselm must act. Kings must learn that above and beyond all earthly thrones is the throne of God, beyond the limits of royal injustice is the eternal justice of God.

He had left Lyons and was on his way to Reims when word came to Anselm that his dear spiritual daughter, the Countess Adela, was dangerously ill, and he turned westward and came to the castle of Blois. The Countess was better and in a few days Anselm told her the purpose of his journey northward: for the wrong which for two years her brother Henry had done to God and to his servant he must be excommunicated. On hearing this Countess Adela, frightened and in grave distress, determined to make peace. Her love and reverence for Anselm and her affection for her brother moved the youngest of the Conqueror's children to do what she could before it was too late. Therefore, while she escorted Anselm to Chartres, the Countess Adela sent couriers to Henry, who was at Falaise, warning him of the sentence that would fall unless the King was reconciled to his Archbishop.

Henry was no fool. He knew, no man better, that to be placed under the ban of the Church by Anselm was to be degraded publicly and placed at a disadvantage before his enemies. Excommunication had brought King Philip of France to an abject submission, had reduced the emperor, the once powerful Henry IV, Hildebrand's old antagonist, to an utter isolation from all his feudal lords. Excommunication was the last thing Henry wanted just now when he was engaged in making war upon Robert of Normandy, warring as the champion of the Church in Normandy against the misrule and anarchy that Robert could not hinder. Once excommunicated there was no telling who would fall away from him or who would be left on his side. Henry was sharp enough to know that this threatened excommunication by Anselm was not a matter that would lend itself to perennial postponements and endless discussion like a decree from the Pope; it might have exceedingly unpleasant consequences. It must be averted.

Besides, Henry had a very real regard for Anselm. He knew the Archbishop for a good man and an able man; a wise man too, a man of learning. These qualities Henry respected. Was he not called Beauclerc, and did not all know him for a better man than his brother William, an abler and wiser man than the crusader, his foolish, spendthrift brother, Robert? Anselm ought to be to him what Lanfranc was to his father — Henry always returned to that sooner or later — instead of sticking out for this new thing and making the Pope the chief lord of the King's bishops. An obstinate old man was Anselm, very tiresome in not seeing that the King was right in holding

out for the rights of his father. But one thing was certain, there was no moving this old man from the position he had taken up, and it seemed hopeless to wait any longer for consideration from Pope Pascal. It was unfortunate that Anselm could not be brought to see the justice of the King's claims; but there it was. Anyway, there had been no open quarrel with Anselm and Henry decided that he should like to see his Archbishop again. A friendly talk would do more good than letter writing, a personal interview would be the surest safeguard against excommunication. Henry put the matter to his chief barons who were with him in Normandy and they agreed that the King would do well to invite his sister to visit him and to bring the Archbishop with her. With the invitation Henry sent a hint that he hoped for a very happy result from the visit.

So on July 22, 1105, the Countess Adela met her brother, the Archbishop his King, at the castle of Laigle on the Rille, midway between Chartres and Falaise.

They met cordially and in frank good will. Conspicuous to all was the King's pleasure at seeing Anselm again. Henry promised at once that Anselm should be put in complete possession of the revenues and estates of his see and restored to the fullest friendship with the King. Nothing could exceed the courtesy and grace of Henry in his conduct in those days. Instead of requiring Anselm's attendance when there was business to be discussed he would himself wait on the old Archbishop.

The question of the bishops who had received investiture from Henry and were still under excommunication remained to be settled; since Anselm declined to absolve

them on his own responsibility another appeal to Rome was required. This meant that Anselm could not return directly to England as he had hoped, but must needs wait in Normandy till the envoys came back from the Pope.

For a year he waited, for Henry, though he wanted Anselm in England, was in no hurry to anticipate Pope Pascal's decision. Meanwhile Henry needed money for his war in Normandy and his tax gatherers were employed on a ruthless shearing of the English people, clergy and lay folk. Being told that many of the clergy still kept wives or concubines in defiance of the decree of the council of London (1102), Henry was so shocked that he ordered a special tax to be laid on the transgressors as a punishment for their misdoing. However, it appeared on enquiry that these transgressors were but few in number after all; in fact, so many of the clergy were quite blameless, their lives innocent and without reproach, that the tax collectors were at a loss. To supply the deficit the King laid a tax on all the parochial clergy, transgressors of the law of celibacy and the clerks of blameless life alike, and would listen to no remonstrance.

Anselm protested from Normandy against these arbitrary proceedings; offending clergy should be punished according to law not by officers of the crown but by their bishops. In reply Henry declared himself astonished at the Archbishop's attitude. The King represented himself as working on the Archbishop's behalf, and doing the Archbishop's work for him in this correction of evildoers. In any case there had been no interference with the Archbishop's own people, with the estates of the diocese of Canterbury.

Money the King would have, and the whole land groaned under the tyranny.

Then many thought of Anselm, recalling his fearlessness; and Archbishop Gerard of York, Robert, Bishop of Chester, Herbert, Bishop of Norwich, with other prelates who had thwarted and opposed Anselm in his long campaign, leaving him to stand alone against the absolute rule of the Norman kings, now learning that he was reconciled with the King wrote beseeching him to return. His flock perished, being without their shepherd, they declared. The peace they had hoped for was far removed. The laity had broken into the house of God and invaded the very altar. If Anselm would but arise and fight the battle of the Lord, they his children would fight with him. They would do more than follow, they would go before him should he but give command. It was not their own cause they sought now, it was the cause of God.

Thus they appealed to Anselm, these "king's bishops," Gerard of York and the rest. So wretched was their state, hope they had none save in Anselm, and they were fearful lest being long absent and in friendship with the King he should be drawn away from helping them by the influence of the court.

They knew not their Archbishop even when they called upon him to come to their aid.

Anselm replied that he sympathised with them in their tribulations but that he could not help them, as he wished to do, until the envoys returned from Rome. At present he was still uncertain as to the extent of his powers, and the King would not have him in England until this question of obedience to the papal decree was settled. It was

really a good thing that they at last saw what their endurance — he would not use a stronger word than “endurance” — had brought them to, and he rejoiced at their desire to follow and support him. They need not be afraid that he would fall away or be perverted by self-seekers at the court, for he trusted in God to keep him to the truth. Not to ransom his life would he give countenance to injustice against the Church in England. They must act as each in his wisdom was guided.

Next year (1106), came the letter of Pope Pascal setting Anselm free to return to England. Anselm was released from the decree of Pope Urban that made all bishops excommunicated who had received investiture from the King, and all excommunicate who had consecrated them. He was authorised to consecrate prelates who had offended against this decree by receiving royal investiture. In the future bishops who paid homage for their temporal possessions might be consecrated so long as they were not invested by the King. William of Warelwast — again the King’s envoy — had the names of certain nobles who were to be absolved, and the Archbishop of York and the other bishops who had brought back the false report were not to be refused communion, though their offence was grievous. Finally, the Pope looked to Anselm to do all that was possible to get every necessary reform accomplished in the Church, promising him the support of the Holy See.

It was in early summer when the Pope’s letter arrived and Henry proposed an immediate return to England. But Anselm was too ill to be moved. He grew better but was compelled to linger at Jumièges and Le Bec, and it was at the latter place that Henry visited him in August.

Never was Henry more amiable than on that day — it was August 15, the Feast of the Assumption of Our Lady — when he conversed with the convalescent Archbishop. Positively, Henry promised to stop once and for all, the confiscations and irregular demands for money that had been begun under the Red King and still continued. The Church of God in England should henceforth be free — the King gave his word.

A fortnight later and Anselm, taking with him from Bec one of his oldest and dearest friends, Boso, who figures in the famous dialogue, *Cur Deus Homo*, sailed from Wis-sant for Dover.

Henry remained in Normandy, to finish the decisive campaign for the sovereignty of the dukedom. The omens were favourable, now that he had made peace with Anselm and restored him to favour, for the overthrow of Robert.

XII

THE LAST YEARS

When he landed at Dover in September, 1106, Anselm was in his seventy-third year. Two years and a half still remained before death came for him, and seeing that the time was short and there was much to be done, the old Archbishop went steadily to work. The final settlement with Henry, reforms in the Church in England, and a last piece of writing; then, the golden bowl broken and the silver cord loosed, the soul of St. Anselm, sweet in its strength and its humility, passed to its rest.

Matilda, the "good Queen Maud," with a great concourse of people, met the Archbishop at Dover and with shouts of enthusiasm his return was welcomed. All over England men and women rejoiced when they heard that Anselm had come home, for now the Church was no longer fatherless nor its children without a protector. The Queen herself arranged for the lodging and comfort of the Archbishop, tired with the journey and weak from his late illness, until Canterbury was reached.

In that same month of September, Henry was entirely successful over his brother; a letter from the King to Anselm told the news of the decisive battle of Tenchebrai, on September 28, and the utter rout of Duke Robert. The foresight of his father, the Conqueror, was fulfilled. Henceforth Henry till death ruled both England and Normandy, though not without opposition and fierce fight-

ing. Ranulf the Firebrand, with no liking for the fallen fortune of Duke Robert, turned to Henry, persuaded the King to forgive him, and was reinstated in his see of Durham.

Normandy conquered, the King was free to make peace with Anselm, since the question of investiture was yet to be settled. Henry wanted Anselm for his friend. He knew the Archbishop was without equal in learning, in holiness, and in wisdom in all western Europe. He recognised in the fearlessness of the Archbishop a character rare among bishops in the courts of kings; discerned that Anselm's loyalty to the law of the Pope was a loyalty to something beyond the laws of men. Anselm's pure conscience, his unsullied mind, his resolute will to do justice and follow after God overcame the King's stubborn resistance. The victor of Normandy was vanquished by the servant of God. For all that he had sworn he would never give up the "customs" of his father, that the bishops should be king's men first and pope's men second, Henry surrendered the feudal rights of the crown rather than lose the support of Anselm. The best terms Henry could get from Anselm and Pope Pascal was the permission for bishops to do homage for their temporal property.

Anselm was ill with fever in the spring of 1107, after assisting at Henry's official celebration of the conquest of Normandy, and it was August before he was well enough to attend the great council of the realm called by Henry to fix the terms of settlement.

On August 1, and the two following days, bishops, abbots, and the chief men of England assembled in West-

minster Hall under the presidency of the King, and discussed the old matter of investiture; not until the third day did Anselm join them, his bodily weakness constraining him to await the conclusion of the argument. They all, King, bishops, abbots, lay nobles, knew the mind of their Archbishop on the subject, and perhaps the debate was freer in Anselm's absence. To plead as certain of the bishops still pleaded in support of the feudal "customs" of the King and against the commands of the Pope would not have been easy in Anselm's presence, in especial since the bishops had implored him to return to England and given their promise to stand by him.

But if Anselm was absent the King was firm. It was a compromise — allowing homage and forbidding investiture — and the common sense of Henry and his worldly wisdom made him not averse from compromise. Henry had the qualities of a successful ruler.

So on August 3, 1107, in full council, with Anselm at his right hand and before the whole multitude, the King solemnly decreed that henceforth and forever no bishop or abbot should be invested in England by staff and ring either by the king or by any layman; while Anselm gave his word that no one chosen for bishopric or abbey should be refused consecration for having done homage to the king. With one accord the assembly approved this agreement; all that remained was to fill up the vacant bishoprics and benefices, and this was done by the King, while the Archbishop, advised by some of the chief nobles, decided on the appointments. Without any investiture by ring or crozier these prelates were instituted and the ab-

solutism of the Norman kings was pierced. Of course Henry managed to twist the compromise to the advantage of the crown. The Pope, in the interests of peace, had said that bishops who had done homage might still be instituted. The King made this out to mean that bishops must do homage before they were instituted.

A week after the council had dispersed, that no time might be lost, the bishops-elect were duly consecrated in Canterbury cathedral. On William Giffard, Roger the Chancellor, Reinelm, William of Warelwast, and Urban, Anselm laid his hands, and these five filled the vacant chairs of Winchester, Salisbury, Hereford, Exeter, and Glamorgan, respectively. Royal clerks, servants of the crown, were the five, faithful to their duty as they saw it. Yet two of them — Giffard and Reinelm — had dared the anger of Henry rather than fall under the excommunication of Anselm; had preferred the King's displeasure, loss of office, and no bishopric rather than be consecrated without Anselm's blessing. Roger had all the abilities of a first-rate civil servant, and with his two nephews, both of them bishops, bore the cares of state till Henry's death, remaining in office under Stephen, the son of Adela, countess of Blois, until that monarch unwisely made them his enemies. As for William of Warelwast, times had changed since the Red King ten years before had engaged him to search the Archbishop's luggage at Dover. Trustworthy courier and envoy of kings, Warelwast earned his reward; for the revenues of a bishopric were judged a fitting reward for king's favourites, not only in England but in all Europe, while ever kings had the power to appoint and

tenants of episcopal estates produced rich rental. The career of Warelwast was not disgraced by his consecration to Exeter. He remained an efficient Norman.

Next year Anselm strove again for the reform of clerical morals, and the King attended the great council which sat in London and re-enacted and confirmed the canons passed at the earlier council of 1102. Once more the clergy were forbidden under grave penalties to have wives or keep concubines; but there were always a few who disobeyed the law.*

No less zealously did Anselm strive for the welfare of the land and he had the support of many of the nobles in his protest to the King against the horrible injustice that accompanied the King's movements in England. These Norman kings were forever on the move, and the royal progress in the days of the Red King had been more dreaded than the arrival of a hostile army. It was grievous enough that hard-working peasants should be despoiled to provide the necessary rations for the king and his retinue. The royal followers and servants of the court did not stop at that; they plundered and levied toll on all who came within their reach, rich and poor alike, wasting and destroying, often burning out of sheer wantonness what they could not carry off to sell. No one was safe, for the wives and daughters of honest countrymen were shamefully insulted by the disorderly gangs that accompanied the court; so that at the first word that the king was com-

*Pope Pascal recognised the difficulty of keeping the English secular clergy from taking wives and in 1107 gave Anselm a dispensation to allow the sons of priests to hold benefices.

ing many a family left their houses, and, carrying with them what they could save, hid in woods and caves until the royal progress had passed.

Against this iniquity Anselm set his face and Henry was with him in hating the disorder. The result of Anselm's protest was a law inflicting mutilation — loss of hand or foot or eye, according to the seriousness of the crime — on all who broke the peace when the King was journeying in his realm.

Another hardship that fell more heavily on the poorer people was the coining and passing into use of bad money. Anselm wished this evil to be stopped, and again Henry agreed. The savage punishment of blinding was ordered for all found guilty of coining or passing bad money.

Mutilation was the common penalty under the Norman kings. It seems that Henry by pitiless severity stopped both the wrongs of the royal progress and of the debased currency — to the immense relief of the mass of his subjects.

The time was fast passing now for Archbishop Anselm. He had but one year to live — and was too enfeebled to ride his horse, and was carried in a litter — when his oldest and most trusted friend, Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester, and mighty architect, died; soon to be joined in death by Gerard, Archbishop of York, who had so often withstood the Primate of Canterbury. Anselm had trouble with Gerard's successor, one Thomas, who was jealous of the primacy of the see of Canterbury, and the controversy did not end with Anselm's death. Ranulf the Torch, back at Durham, helped in the mischief by instigating and encouraging Thomas to defy Anselm.

With it all, affairs of the Church, affairs of the State,

sufferings of the people from royal progresses and coiners of base metal, Anselm could still turn for relief to exercise his mind on the profoundest problems of human existence — the old and ever fresh problems of God's foreknowledge and man's free will. Hardly had he finished his last treatise, *De Concordia Praescientiae et Praedestinationis nec non Gratiae Dei cum Libero Arbitrio*, and he was still turning over in his mind the question of the relation of God's goodness with original sin when death claimed him.

In the Lent of 1109 Anselm was too weak to say Mass but every morning, so great was his love for the Blessed Sacrament, would he be carried into his chapel at Canterbury that he might assist at the holy mysteries. Four days before he died he took to his bed, and on the morning of Palm Sunday when his clergy, according to their custom, were gathered round him, one of them said: "Lord and father, we think you are going to leave this world to keep Easter at the court of your Lord."

The dying Archbishop answered: "If it is God's will certainly will I gladly obey it. Yet if He willed that I might remain amongst you until I have cleared up a problem as to the origin of the soul which I have been turning over in my mind I should be thankful. For after I am gone I know not anyone who will finish it."

He was not in pain, he said. It was only that the body refused all nourishment. "If I could but take food I might yet get well," the old man murmured, thinking of that question of the origin of evil. "But I am failing altogether because of this weakness of the stomach," he added.

By Tuesday he could no longer speak, but peacefully

and without pain waited the passing of his soul. In the evening he was still conscious and when Ralph, the new Bishop of Rochester, softly prayed that he would give his blessing on all who were there present, and on all his spiritual children, on the King and Queen and their children, and on the people of England, Anselm raised his right hand in blessing and for the last time made the sign of the cross. As night drew on, and from the cathedral could be heard the chanting of Matins by the monks, one of the priests watching by the Archbishop began to read the gospel for Wednesday in Holy Week, the Passion according to St. Luke. When the reader came to the words, *Vos autem estis qui permansistis mecum in tentationibus meis. Et ego dispono vobis, sicut disposuit mihi Pater meus, regnum ut edatis et bibatis super mensam meam in regno meo* ("And you are they who have continued with Me in My temptations: and I appoint to you as My Father hath appointed Me a kingdom, that you may eat and drink at My table in My kingdom"), it was noticed that the breath came very slowly. Then, since death was at hand, his clergy gently lifted the Archbishop from his bed and laid him on the freshly strewn cross of ashes, the monk's last mattress.

So the night passed, while fainter and fainter came the breathing. It was at the dawn when Anselm drew his last breath, on the morning of April 21, 1109.

He was buried the next day in the cathedral of Canterbury, close by the tomb of Lanfranc in the nave. Afterwards the body was translated to the chapel in the south-east tower, on the south side of the choir. Nor has it been

disturbed. Anselm himself had dedicated this chapel to SS. Peter and Paul, but it soon came to be called St. Anselm's chapel and is so called to this day.

XIII

THE MIRACLES AND CANONISATION OF ST. ANSELM

In the time of his mortal life the prayer of Anselm and the touch of his hands healed the sick. When he no longer walked the earth, many called upon St. Anselm in their time of need and not in vain; for his prayer still availed. Miraculous events are recorded by Eadmer when the Archbishop was hardly dead.

In the city of Canterbury a good Christian man (we are not told his name but he is said to have been of comparatively easy circumstances) was dying of a grievous disease. His friends were already in the house for the funeral, only waiting for the expected end. In the very hour of St. Anselm's death, this dying man, whom some took to be already dead, saw before him a youth of noble appearance. "What troubles you?" asked this glorious visitor.

"You see that I am fast dying and you ask me what troubles me?" came the stricken man's reply.

Thereupon the angel told him that he should by no means die but live. "Even now is the father of this city and of the whole land swiftly passing to God, exchanging this fleeting world for the life eternal. There — rise up and be healed, and give glory to God who heals you for the sake of His servant our father Anselm."

Sure enough the good man at once recovered, and nobody in the house could understand how he got better.

Then he told them of his vision. Thereupon his friends rushed away to the monastery of Christchurch to learn that the vision was true, and that St. Anselm had already passed away.

Miracles accompanied the burial rites of St. Anselm.

The oil that Baldwin, the Archbishop's devoted steward, wanted for the anointing of St. Anselm's body was quite insufficient. Only a few drops were left at the bottom of the vessel; yet when at Eadmer's request Ralph of Rochester, the officiating bishop, turned the vessel upside down to see if another drop or two would emerge, a generous supply gushed out of what had seemed to be an almost empty vessel, so that they had enough to anoint the whole body.

Then it was discovered, to the general distress, that the coffin, rightly constructed as to length and breadth, was not deep enough to take St. Anselm's body. While the mourners were discussing what was to be done for the best, one of the monks took the bishop's crozier and waved it to and fro over the coffin. To the general astonishment the sides of the coffin began to move until they were raised above the saint's body.

The girdle worn by St. Anselm was found to contain great virtue so that many suffering and afflicted persons who had faith were by God's mercy healed after touching it.

First there was a nobleman named Humfrey, a well-known soldier, with whom St. Anselm in his lifetime was acquainted. This veteran of the wars, who had a deep veneration for Anselm, lay sick of dropsy; the physicians despaired of his life and all thought him to be dying. Daily

the sick man invoked the name of Anselm, never doubting that God would be merciful to him at the prayers of the holy Archbishop. Nevertheless he got worse, and believing that death was near, sent to an old friend, a monk at Christchurch, Canterbury, named Haimo, begging him to come and comfort him in his last moments. The prior willingly giving consent, Haimo went, accompanied by a brother of Christchurch, Eadmer's nephew, who had the care of St. Anselm's girdle. Taking the girdle with him he gave it to Humfrey, telling him at the same time to whom it had belonged. With an earnest prayer to God for mercy and devoutly kissing the girdle Humfrey managed to get it round his waist. In a very short time the swelling began to decrease and Humfrey passed the girdle backwards and forwards over the swollen body, until the entire swelling was gone. When he had quite recovered Humfrey came to Canterbury to give thanks at the tomb of St. Anselm, and there he told the story of his miraculous cure to the monks. At Humfrey's request Eadmer cut a tiny strip off the girdle and gave it to him, and after that whenever the old knight felt the return of the dropsy he placed the strip against his body and made a good recovery.

The next case occurred in Scotland, when Eadmer resided there after his appointment to the bishopric of St. Andrews. An English matron named Eastrildis, a woman of holy life and an invalid, became well known to Eadmer as the victim of an incurable disease, a sufferer to be relieved by death alone. This English lady, whose chief happiness was to meditate on the lives of saints, had already heard of the sanctity of St. Anselm, and naturally Eadmer

talked fervently to her on the subject dear to his heart. Eastrildis had no particular desire to remain on earth — so much had sickness wasted her that she longed for release and to be with Christ — but she consented to put on St. Anselm's girdle. To the amazement of all a change took place almost at once and within a few days Eastrildis was completely healed of her disease.

Eadmer did not remain long in Scotland—circumstances were unpropitious—and was back again at Canterbury when Ralph was archbishop. After his return two of the monks of Christchurch were cured on St. Anselm's girdle being applied to their afflicted bodies, and according to Eadmer it became the regular practise for all who were sick, and especially for women in danger by childbirth, to have recourse to the girdle, for they had confident hope and pure intention that they would be delivered from peril by its use. Of all the hopeful and trusting souls, men and women of sincerity, and faith without blemish, who wore St. Anselm's girdle, not one, within Eadmer's knowledge, was disappointed. But without faith and hope nothing could be done. Archbishop Ralph never asked for the girdle of his great predecessor but bore his sickness patiently until he died.

Anselm, known for a saint in his lifetime by those who loved him and by some who loved him not, invoked as a saint when he was dead, and the worker of miracles of healing, waited nearly four hundred years for formal canonisation. In 1163 the cause of St. Anselm was entrusted by Pope Alexander III to St. Thomas of Canterbury. But the Archbishop, though he had requested the cause to be opened, was at the beginning of his troubles. Fighting in

his own way for the freedom of the Church in England against the absolutism of the crown, as Anselm had fought seventy years before, he could do nothing in the matter. In the fifteenth century the cause was re-opened, and it was left to the Borgian Pope, Alexander VI, to declare Anselm a saint by a brief to Cardinal Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1494. The feast day of St. Anselm is April 21, and the dignity of the feast was raised to a double by Pope Clement XI, in 1720, when he declared St. Anselm to be a doctor of the Universal Church.

If formal canonisation was slow to reach St. Anselm, the Middle Ages, through their greatest poet, placed him with the servants of God. In the *Paradiso* (*Canto XII*) Dante makes St. Bonaventura rank Anselm with Nathan the prophet who stood before David, with St. Chrysostom the great patriarch of Constantinople, and with Donatus, the grammarian, master of St. Jerome.*

The cult of St. Anselm never achieved the wide popularity that St. Thomas earned by martyrdom; his reputation was greatest among scholars. The writings of St. Anselm quite early gave their author a permanent place in the history of philosophy and his stand for the freedom of the Church belongs as permanently to the political history of Europe.

(The Church of England in its *Book of Common Prayer* excluded the name of Anselm from its calendar

*Hugh, the canon regular of St. Victor, in his writings on the mysteries of religion, and Raban Maurus, Archbishop of Mainz, commentator of the Sacred Scriptures, industrious in his compilations of past learning and of kinship with Anselm in his perception of the importance of right reasoning, are in the same group.

— though earlier archbishops, and Augustine, Aelfhege, and Dunstan were admitted — as it excluded St. Thomas of Canterbury. It was impossible for the sixteenth-century founders of the Anglican communion to acknowledge the sanctity of men, however holy, who incurred the displeasure of kings, and set the papacy, in matters spiritual, above the crown of England.)

XIV

ST. ANSELM THE PHILOSOPHER AND THEOLOGIAN

THE MONOLOGION, PROSLOGION, AND OTHER WRITINGS AT BEC

✓ In the long, full years at Bec St. Anselm began to set down his thoughts on God and on the reasonableness of the Christian belief. The first treatise, the *Monologion*, a colloquy of the soul with itself concerning the essence of God, is not addressed to the unbeliever; it postulates the existence of God; but urges that having faith, we should understand *what* it is we believe. There must be no strife between faith and reason, Anselm argues. Rather let them accord like "bells in harmony." Faith demands understanding. *Credo ut intelligam.*

Conflict between religion and science would be impossible according to St. Anselm; for truth is one and truth cannot contradict itself. The unproved assumptions and hypotheses of men of science are often at variance with the truths of revealed religion, never an established truth of science. Ecclesiastical authority is necessarily cautious in accepting the "discoveries" of scientists for truth, and indeed time has too often shown the "discoveries" unproved and mistaken. If ecclesiastical authority, for instance, had accepted for true all the theories of the critics of the Bible in the nineteenth century, truth would have

appeared a heap of confused corrections and contradictions.

How, then, does the soul of man reason concerning God? Anselm asks. Thus, he answers: "In all our desires there is something that seems to us good in what we desire. It may be a real good; it may be only an appearance of good; we desire it because we think we shall enjoy it, because we think it good for us.

"Now all good things must have their origin in good; therefore since the scale of the finite good things desired by man cannot be infinite and our grading of these good things, however far we carry it, must eventually come to an end, there is one absolute good, one absolute sublime whence all good springs.

"Therefore one absolute sublime, one Highest Being exists; one absolute *Summa Natura*. And this absolute Supreme Being is not a whole, made up of parts, for if it were composite and conditioned by parts it would not be absolute.

"And the Absolute, unconditioned and without parts, created the world we live in *ex nihilo*, out of nothing. What other hypothesis is credible?" asks Anselm.

The very existence of the world depends for continuance upon the Absolute, otherwise the world itself would be an absolute. So the Absolute is in all things, and is through all things; and all things are through the Absolute and in the Absolute.

Then St. Anselm approaches by another way to the existence of God.

As the rational soul of man is higher in the scale than the mortal body, so we can conceive of the Absolute as the

rational soul in its perfection: *summa essentia, summa vita, summa veritas, summa ratio, summa salus, summa justitia, summa sapientia, summa bonitas, summa magnitudo, summa pulchritudo, summa immortalitas, summa incorruptibilitas, summa beatitudo, summa æternitas, summa potestas, summa unitas*. ("Fullness of being, of life, of reason, of health, of justice, of wisdom, of truth, of goodness, of greatness, of beauty, of immortality; fullness incorruptible, fullest blessedness, fullness eternal, fullness of power, fullest unity.")

The being or essence of God, not being divided, is present in all space and time.

There is neither past nor future with God; He neither *was* nor *will* be. He neither foreknows nor remembers, for with Him it eternally is, is always *now*, and He knows. (We speak of God's foreknowledge and of God foreknowing only for the sake of convenience.)

All the attributes of God are one with His essence and with Himself.

Therefore, since we can conceive of perfection, it is not unreasonable to take for the idea of perfection our own natural soul, minus its imperfections.

But then, as Anselm saw, this argument made no appeal to the man who refused to look beyond phenomena, to admit the existence of the invisible. And this worried him, so that in his perplexity Anselm lost both sleep and appetite pondering the matter, and for a time he wondered whether all this thinking was not a temptation of the devil.

The fruit of this pondering was a new treatise, the *Pros-*

logion seu alloquium de Dei existentia, the treatise on the existence of God, an *argumentum ad insipientem*, an address to the foolish person who says there is no God.

Here St. Anselm deduces the reality of God from the fact that we have an idea of God.

The Highest Thing Thinkable, *aliquid quo nihil majus cogitari potest*, exists in thought, for the phrase is intelligible; and whatever is intelligible exists in thought.

But if it exists in thought it exists in fact.

Reason postulates the Absolute as existing of necessity and therefore in effect postulates God.

In brief St. Anselm's argument is that the fact that we have of necessity an idea of God is proof that God exists.

This argument was at once challenged by Gaunilon, a monk of Marmoutier abbey,* as it was later to be rejected as inadequate by St. Thomas Aquinas, and the scholastics generally, with the exception of St. Bonaventura and Duns Scotus.

Gaunilon's reply was the *Liber pro Insipiente*, the case for the fool. The Highest Thing Thinkable is after all but a vague idea. Now there is a Lost Island, an island of fables more wonderful than the Isles of the Blest, which exists in idea and surpasses all other islands known to man. But in fact this Lost Island does not really exist. Who is the more foolish, the one who says it does not exist or the one who thinks he has established that it exists without first proving that it exists?

*From Marmoutier the monks were brought to form the community of the abbey of St. Martin at Battle, founded by William the Conqueror in fulfillment of his vow before the battle of Hastings.

Anselm answered this with a very short *Liber Apologeticus contra Respondentem pro Insipiente*, the apology against the reply of the fool.

There is a profound distinction, he insists, between the idea of the Lost Island and the idea of the Highest Thing Thinkable. The former, if existing had both a beginning and an end, for it is a thing of time and sense. The existence of such an island is not implied in the idea of it.

But the Highest Thing Thinkable in idea is eternal, it cannot be thought of otherwise. And it cannot be thought of as not existing. But we can think of the non-existing island. To say that the Highest Thing Thinkable may both exist and not exist is absurd.

If the Highest Thing Thinkable is nothing at all, it would be impossible to think of it, he argued, as it is impossible to think of the non-existence of nothing. The very denial of the Highest Thing Thinkable is an admission that it exists in thought.

The point St. Anselm drives at is that what exists in thought exists in reality.

It is called the ontological or *a priori* proof of the being of God, this argument of Anselm's, and it has influenced philosophy and metaphysics down the centuries. Descartes, Leibniz, Kant, Hegel, all are attracted to it, Hegel in especial.

The basis of certitude in this matter is the necessity that we must so believe in a Highest Thing Thinkable. We cannot think otherwise.

St. Anselm did not put his name to the *Monologion* and the *Proslogion* and its supplement until he was at Lyons, in 1099, when he did so at the bidding of his friend

and protector, Archbishop Hugh, who was also papal legate in France.

Three shorter treatises were also written at Bec: on Truth, *De Veritate*; on the fall of the Devil, *De Casu Diaboli*, and on Free Will, *De Libero Arbitro*.

To the question, What is truth? Anselm answers: It is eternal. What is once true is always true, truth does not change. And truth is one. It is that to which our thinking ought to correspond. Truth is grasped by the intelligence as justice is grasped by the moral sense. What are called particular truths are but approximations to the one Truth. In God there is no distinction between reason and will, between truth and justice. For God is in all things and all things are in God. He is justice and He is truth.

As to the fall of the Devil; whence came his inordinate will, was it from God or from himself?

St. Anselm follows St. Augustine in denying the positive existence of moral evil. Injustice is but a curtailment of justice. When the will is turned from right doing it accomplishes nothing except the curtailment or privation of right doing. Recovery when the will is so turned is impossible by one's own act, because the created being has nothing of his own, the loss of initiative is solely the result of free will having been curtailed.

This curtailment of the will was the cause of the devil's fall. Every natural propensity is good, insofar as it is positive, because it is the gift of God. The propensity misdirected, is, once more, the curtailing of the will.

Whence, then, came the inordinate will of the devil?

There is no answer to this question, says St. Anselm. One might as well ask: Whence came nothing? All we

can say is evil exists by God's permission, not by His ordinance.*

(The argument was approved by Aquinas and in philosophy by Spinoza and Hegel.)

From this Anselm passes naturally to a consideration of free will itself. First, the capacity to sin is not a necessary element in free will. For God is utterly free and yet cannot sin. Moral freedom is not the power to choose between alternatives, but the power to do right for the sake of right — just because it is right: *potestas conservandi rectitudinem propter ipsam rectitudinem*.

Now, the capacity to sin impairs but does not destroy this freedom. Sin is an abdication or surrender of freedom. Where there is no power to sin there is no will to sin. Original sin, though a curtailment, does not involve the total depravity of human nature. For reason and will remain, and the capacity to recognise the claims of duty and to fulfill these claims.

Even apart from the influence of divine grace, the human will is stronger than the temptation. For motives do not govern the will; the will governs our motives. And the power of the motive is determined by the consent of the will, so that no one is truly over-mastered by temptation.

At the same time original sin does impair free will, making perseverance in right for its own sake difficult, and after a serious lapse from right, man cannot by his own power regain the lost supernatural life.

Hence, we depend upon divine grace for redemption.

*Cf. Robert Browning in *Abt. Vogler*: "The evil is null, is nought, is silence implying sound."

The conclusion of the whole matter is that while original sin leaves man with sufficient freedom to make him culpable, he has not enough power to justify himself after the commission of actual sin on his part.

The boldness and originality of St. Anselm's writings at Bec, no less than the subtlety of his thought, make these treatises a tremendous event in the history of Christian philosophy. With Anselm we are on the very threshold of the great revival of the thirteenth century. "The Neapolitan (Aquinas) is by all the laws of intellectual heredity the legitimate offspring of the Lombard Anselm. Aquinas is Anselm born again; and born greater than before."*

With the philosophical work composed at Bec went the prayers and meditations, *Orationes* and *Meditationes* of St. Anselm, and in the meditations (a translation of certain of these prayers and meditations was published, with a preface by Cardinal Manning, 1872) is the secret of his strength. The spiritual life, the personal devotion to his Lord and God, the burning love for his Saviour are set down revealed in the meditations. We see Anselm as one who walked with God and who yet prayed for the hour "when at length my eyes shall be gladdened with the vision of my beliefs."

One more piece of writing from the pen of Anselm, the theologian, was at least begun at Bec: the reply to John Roscellinus — *De Fide Trinitatis seu de Incarnatione Verbi*.

Roscellin, for some time a teacher of logic at Locmine,

*Fr. Vincent McNabb, O.P., *The Catholic Church and Philosophy*.

near Vannes in Brittany (where he had Abaelard for his pupil) — and later Canon of Besancon, is so taken up with the idea of the individual that he cannot find room for the notion of the universal idea. Man as an individual is everything, the notion of “man” in general, as opposed to this man or that, means nothing. But unless personality is in some way combined with universality, i.e., with the universal, the person is a separate being, atomic, and the doctrine of the Trinity, God’s Unity in Trinity, becomes tritheistic. Roscellin “would have spoken of three gods had not usage forbidden it,” said St. Anselm, and he straightway sets out the true theology. There is no opposition between the universal idea and the individual idea. The Godhead — though not a philosophical universal — belongs to each Person of the Trinity, is common to each; God includes each Person, and each Person while enjoying its own personality is not a separate being. Human nature was assumed into the unity of the Godhead when Christ became incarnate, but only in the Godhead immanent in the Person of the Son.

To illustrate the transcendent mystery of the Trinity in Unity and Unity in Trinity, Anselm proposes consideration of visible natural phenomena. A fountain or spring is the source of a stream and the stream flows and is gathered into a lake. Fountain and stream are to be distinguished and yet are one; fountain and lake are one, stream and lake are one. The three together may have one name (say the Nile) and are but one river and one water. There are not three rivers, nor three fountains, nor three lakes. All are equal, yet each is distinct. The fountain is not from

the stream nor from the lake, the stream is from the fountain alone, the lake from the fountain and the stream.

Anselm at the same time is conscious of the inadequacy of his illustration. At the best, with St. Augustine and St. Paul, we do but see God as through a glass darkly and not as He is. But the glimpse of God's veiled majesty, however distant, need not be delusive.

In his preface to this treatise, *De Fide Trinitatis*, Anselm, who was then at Canterbury, submits his work to the judgment of Pope Urban II because "all questions of faith must be submitted to the Pope for judgment."

XV

THE "CUR DEUS HOMO" AND LAST WORKS

The *Cur Deus Homo* ("Why God Man") is always accounted St. Anselm's greatest work. It has the imprimatur of time. Translated into many languages and many times re-printed — in the nineteenth century more than one English translation was published — it holds a permanent place in Catholic theology. In great tribulation of heart did its author begin *Cur Deus Homo*, during the troubles with the Red King (*In magna tribulatione cordis, quam unde et cur passus sim, novit Deus*). In the peace of exile at Schiavi it was finished.

The preface explains why it was necessary to publish the book and why it was written.

It was necessary to publish an authorised edition because the author found that some of the first parts had been copied out without the writer's knowledge, and before the whole had been completed and revised.

It was written to meet the objections of unbelievers to the doctrine of man's redemption and to show the reasonableness of that doctrine. Since man was created for immortal life and sin had frustrated that end, by man must be wrought the end for which man was created; and that man, the Redeemer, must be *homo-Deus*, "God-Man."

(St. Anselm begs all who wish to copy out this book to put the preface first, so that the reader may see at once if there is anything that follows worth attention.)

An introductory chapter gives the questions to be answered: What reason or necessity required God to be made man and to restore life to man by His death? Why could not man have been redeemed by an angel, or by a mere man, or by so willing it? Not only the learned but many of the unlearned are anxious to know the reason.

For the sake of clearness the best plan is to treat the discussion as a dialogue, in the form of question and answer. Boso, his pupil at Bec and dear companion, will put the question and Anselm will give the answer. But the questions are only put in the name of Boso. Anselm is both questioner and answerer.

At the start, announcing that we believe before we discuss, but hold it a neglect that believing we do not take pains to understand what we believe, Boso asks what necessity or reason there could be for Almighty God to take upon Him man's low estate and the infirmities of human nature?

Anselm replies that what is asked is far beyond him to answer; that should he fail to satisfy an enquirer it might be thought the truth of the fact was not clear to him rather than that he possessed an insufficient understanding to grasp it. Moreover, his answer must not be taken as final or exclusive, for one wiser may do it, and God may show it more clearly to him later. Modesty, no less than want of power, warns us against presuming to explain in feeble and contemptible speech a subject so glorious.

Boso propounds the old pagan objection of unbelievers: Surely we do God an injustice and insult Him by saying He was born of a woman and suffered many things that are not seemly for God to suffer?

Not at all. So far from insulting God we praise Him and give Him thanks. By man's disobedience came death, so by man's obedience comes restoration to life; by a woman entered sin, so the Saviour is born of a woman; by the tasting of a tree man fell, by the passion on the tree is man redeemed.

Yet redemption, if it had been made by man alone, by making the redeemed the servants of the redeemer, would have made us servants of man.

Boso raises another objection: It concerns the *justice* of Christ's atonement. How can it be necessary, or how can it be just for the innocent and for a divine being to suffer? How can God be omnipotent if there was no other way but this? If God could have prevented it, but was unwilling to do so, how can God be called just?

The answer is that Christ died willingly, and died because He held to justice — the justice that is required of every man. Obedience required him to live righteously, it did not require Him to be put to death. It was the will of God that man should be restored to life and no other way was possible than atonement by a God-man. In His human nature received from the Father Christ received the good will to suffer for mankind.

But was it fitting, this way of redeeming mankind? With such a Father and with such a Son? It seems strange, at least, that God would not spare the guilty without making the innocent suffer.

Yes, but for man to achieve the blessedness for which he was created the remission of his sins was necessary. Now sin is the failure to render the justice due to God.

The whole will of a rational creature ought to be subject to the will of God, for this equals the debt due both from angels and from man to God.

But why could not remission of sins be wrought by mercy alone?

Because unpunished sin is a violation of order. And since nothing out of order can exist in the will of God, remission of sin without punishment is not consistent with God's will. Further, injustice is made free of law, is raised above law if unpunished; it becomes freer than justice, it becomes equal to God.

Yet does not God command us to forgive injustice?

Yes, because judgment belongs to God. Besides God is robbed by sin of the honour due to him and it is intolerable that this honour should not be repaid.

But what honour is it to God — the punishment of sinners?

It is true that God in Himself is neither honoured nor dishonoured by anything we can do. But man *seems* to do this dishonour when his will is withdrawn from God's will. Further, one sinner cannot justify another sinner. Only the sinless can justify the sinner.

We reach the conclusion.

Man was created sinless by God that he might be blessed in the enjoyment of God.

Human nature having fallen must needs be perfected, and this perfection cannot be accomplished without satisfaction to God.

And no one but God Himself can make the satisfaction that man ought to make.

1091c No one but God can make it, no one but man ought to make it. Therefore it is necessary that God-man should make it.

There is no exchange of divine and human nature, there is a unity of the two natures, the human and the divine. The God-man is born of a pure virgin; "His mother's purity, by which He Himself was pure, was itself derived from Him"; and this is fitting since from a virgin came the fall.

The God-man, Christ, is not compelled by necessity to die, for He is omnipotent. He does not die as a debtor, He dies of free will. He was not put to death knowingly by the Jews, but in ignorance that He was the Redeemer.

God required the perfection of man; this perfection is the God-man, Jesus Christ, who because He is perfect dies.

So the *Cur Deus Homo* ends, the masterly and original argument is worked out to its full extent. We have given but a summary of St. Anselm's most vital work, the rational ground for the Incarnation, his profoundest contribution to theology.

Three lesser treatises were written after the *Cur Deus Homo*.

At the Council of Bari, in 1098, St. Anselm made an illuminating speech on the dogma of the Procession of the Holy Ghost, and before his death he completed the treatise, *De Processione Spiritus Sancti*, a reasoned appeal to the Greek Church.

In the main St. Anselm follows St. Augustine in his treatment of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. The unity

of God is absolute, only limited by the threefold personality. The Holy Spirit bears the same consubstantial relation to the Father as does the Son.

At the beginning of this piece of apologetics St. Anselm takes the ground common to East and West. There is one God in three Persons, the Son is from the Father by generation, the Spirit is from the Father by procession. There is no plurality of gods. The Son is related to the Father by generation, the Spirit by procession.

We know the Son is begotten of the Father because it is so revealed to us. It is not revealed that the Son is begotten of the Spirit. By revelation we know that the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of the Father and the Spirit of the Son.

Belief in the procession of the Spirit from the Father does not imply there is no procession of the Spirit from the Son. The unity of the Godhead is diminished unless we admit the procession from the Son.

But metaphysical conditions must not be confused with conditions that belong to time.

The generation and procession are alike co-eternal. The Son is begotten, the Spirit proceeds, without any departure from the Father. The procession of the Spirit is from one God — Father and Son.

Then St. Anselm turns to the New Testament.

Whatever is affirmed of one Person in the Sacred Scripture is to be understood of the three; unless such interpretation is precluded by the affirmation plainly referring to what is "proper" to one Person. For instance, when Christ says to Peter, "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jonah; for flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but My Fa-

ther which is in heaven" (Matt. xvi. 17), it cannot be taken to mean that neither the Son nor the Spirit had any part in the revelation.

Other passages are quoted (John xvi. 13): "When that Spirit of truth is come He shall teach you all truth," cannot mean that the Spirit alone, without the Father and the Son, is to teach the truth.

The Greeks confess that the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of the Father and the Spirit of the Son; and that He is the Spirit of the Father in that He proceeds from the Father. But if the Spirit is not in the same way the Spirit of the Son because He proceeds from the Son, how is He the Spirit of the Son? To say that the Spirit is given by the Son without proceeding from the Son is quite arbitrary. Neither reason nor authority support such a doctrine.

The doctrine of the West, the doctrine of Rome, is at least a reasonable and plain deduction from premises admitted by the Easterns. As to the complaint of the addition of the clause "*filioque*" to the creed of Nicea, that addition was necessary to quiet the doubts of the less intelligent and was in no way contrary to the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon.

Besides, it is the prerogative of Rome to act with independence when necessity arises.

At Lyons, before the death of the Red King and the accession of Henry brought about his return to England, St. Anselm pondered the question how God could put on human nature without putting on sin — since the whole mass of human nature was tainted by sin, and according to the theology of the time, original sin was inherited by

natural procreation. As a result he wrote his brief tract *De Conceptu Virginali et Originali Peccato*. ✓

Christ took the substance of His mother, how was it He did not take a nature tainted with sin? 70

St. Anselm answers: because Our Lady was virgin and sinless. The virginal birth excluded the inheritance of original sin; the sinlessness of Our Lady left sinless the human nature assumed by Christ and so it was fitting.

"It was fitting that the conception of the Man who was the Son of God should be by a mother most pure. Fitting that the Virgin should be adorned with a purity than which none can be imagined greater below the Divine; the Virgin to whom God the Father decreed to give His only Son; whom, begotten from His own heart, equal with Himself, He loved as Himself; that entering the natural order He might become her Son as well as His; whom the Son Himself chose to make His mother, substance of His substance; of whom the Holy Spirit willed and decreed to effect that of her should be conceived and born He from whom He Himself proceeds."

Our Lady's sinlessness was not necessary, St. Anselm holds, but it was "fitting." It was not necessary, he believes, Our Lady herself should be immaculately conceived before she conceived of the Holy Spirit, but it was eminently "fitting." ✓

Seven hundred and fifty years were to pass before the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady would be declared the faith of Catholics by Pope Pius IX (1854). But already when St. Anselm was hardly dead the Feast of the Immaculate Conception was being kept in

England, and in 1140 there is a reference to its observance at Lyons in a letter ascribed to St. Bernard. Tradition makes the influence of St. Anselm a powerful element in the development of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception and the encouragement of popular devotion to Mary Immaculate.

✓ In the last year of his life St. Anselm returned to the problems of predestination and free will and wrote his treatise, *De Concordia Praescientiae et Praedestinationis nec non Gratiae Dei cum Libero Arbitrio* — “Concerning the Agreement of the Foreknowledge, Predestination and Grace of God with Free Will.”

The intellect is as acute as ever, the reasoning unclouded by old age. But the treatise covers much that is in St. Anselm's previous works.

✓ Once more the author reminds us that God neither *foreknows* nor *foreordains*, for all things are eternally equipresent to Him. The future to us is eternally present to God, and only by convenient license of speech do we speak of His *foreknowing* and *foreordaining*. Since in essence God is absolutely one, His knowing and ordaining are one.

But the ordaining is both positive and negative; the good is ordained positively, moral evil only negatively, i.e., permitted. Moral evil is not positive but a mere defect, a lack of correspondence with the positive will of God.

Free will is not necessarily a power to choose between good and evil (for God who cannot sin, has free will). It is rather the power to persevere in right because it is right. Man's free will, weakened by the fall so that without the grace of God he but with difficulty perseveres in right for

its own sake, is yet sufficient to render man responsible for his lapses, though impotent to restore himself. Man, to obtain redemption from sin, is therefore absolutely dependent upon the grace of God.

Further, his very free will is nothing but God's grace. As a creature he has nothing positive of himself, hence, he argues that freedom which is called natural is really a grace. So that man is entirely beholden to God both for natural virtue and supernatural sanctity.

Therefore, God being omniscient and man absolutely dependent upon Him, man's behaviour, under the influence of God's grace, must be known to and ordained by God from all eternity.

How, then, can man be held responsible for his conduct? If our every act is foreknown and predetermined before all the worlds, is not man's probation predetermined, and he a mere puppet moved to fate, whether for good or for evil, which he can neither seek nor avoid?

But there are two kinds of necessity, St. Anselm points out.

God necessarily foresees what will happen, and yet no necessity compels Him. Since He foresees it, it must of necessity come to pass.

God, without any necessity, foresees that I shall sin or not sin. In either case without necessity it must necessarily happen. Necessarily I must sin or not sin, and yet without necessity. Necessity does not always imply constraint or restraint. For it is of necessity that God is immortal and not unjust. Nevertheless God cannot be under restraint of any force, though nothing can make him mortal or unjust.

Nothing but what is foreseen will be. What God foresees must of necessity happen. If it will be, it will of necessity be, but by this necessity nothing is constrained or restrained.

This necessity of God's foreknowledge is no more than what will be cannot at the same time not be.

We have free will to live rightly and God knows whether we shall use that freedom wisely, is the conclusion of the whole matter.

With the highest flights of the soul, with the profoundest questions of metaphysics and philosophy, was the old Archbishop still occupied when death came for him. St. Anselm, thinking over the problem of the origin of the soul in his extreme old age and wistfully hoping that in God's will he might live long enough to set down his thoughts on that problem, is the last picture.

So we leave him, Anselm, the philosopher and man of God; utterly fearless, the wisest and holiest of all men in his day and generation.

"The exercise of the speculative and imaginative faculties may be its own end, and may have indirect influences and utilities even greater than if it were guided by a conscious intention to be edifying and instructive."

EPILOGUE

The glory that was Bec, the Bec of Herlwin, of Lanfranc, and of Anselm, faded. The light shed by the men of learning and religion who studied and prayed in the great abbey shone for a hundred years over Europe, then dimly flickered and was finally extinguished. To the rising universities, Paris, Bologna, Oxford, and others, flocked the students of the thirteenth century.

The English houses dependent on Bec were suppressed as alien priories, in 1414, when Henry V went to war with France and rival popes of the great schism claimed the throne of Peter. By this suppression of alien priories a precedent would be found a century later for all religious houses to be suppressed in Great Britain and Ireland, their wealth confiscated to the crown, their estates distributed to king's favourites.

The abbey of Bec, no longer a light to the nations, became a valuable piece of preferment, the abbacy, a rich and dignified reward for services rendered. A good post, a fine place, a fat job — became the abbacy of Bec as the Middle Ages passed away and the Renaissance succeeded. Distinguished persons of the French court, archbishops and cardinals were abbots of Bec in the sixteenth century; high priests of a French civilisation — already crumbling — followed them. When the Revolution came and the abbey of Bec was dissolved the Abbot, the last Abbot of Bec,

urbanely surrendered his office. The last Abbot of Bec was Msgr. de Talleyrand.

As for the material structure, the abbey of Herlwin and Lanfranc had been so re-built and re-fashioned that before ultimate ruin fell upon it little was recognisable of the old Norman foundation. In the nineteenth century the abbey buildings of Bec, all that remained, were turned into a barracks for French cavalry.

The monks of Christchurch, Canterbury, were dispersed and the monastery dissolved by decree of the English Parliament, in 1539, the Catholic hierarchy consenting to do the will of Henry VIII.

Twenty years later the Cathedral of Canterbury was handed over to the clergy of the "new religion" by the first law of Queen Elizabeth's first parliament. By the act of Uniformity (1559) the *Book of Common Prayer* was ordered to be used throughout the land, and the Mass forbidden. The forms and ceremonies of Anglican worship were alone permitted. A Protestant, Matthew Parker (he, once a Catholic priest, had taken a wife and avowed himself a Protestant) was appointed to the archbishop's throne, the throne of Augustine and Dunstan, of Lanfranc and Anselm, of St. Thomas the Martyr, and Stephen Langton.

So by order of the English parliament the Mass was no more sung for living and for dead in the cathedral church of Canterbury. And now for nearly four hundred years has no Mass been said within its walls; nor any public prayers have been made to Our Lady, the Virgin most pure of St. Anselm's devotion. Neither has any archbishop sent to Rome for his *pallium*. The cathedral is the posses-

sion of the Church of England. The archbishop is appointed by the prime minister of Britain — be he Anglican or Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, or Jew.

Yet, after all, it is still used for Christian worship, this Cathedral of Canterbury and the *Credo* that Anselm said is daily recited in its choir; the psalms sung by Anselm's monks are the psalms now chanted in English. Many, too, of the prayers in the Anglican service book, translated from the Latin, are the same that Anselm used. Monks and Mass are gone, but the worship of God, Unity in Trinity, Trinity in Unity, continues. In the crypt of the cathedral a congregation of French Huguenots have conducted their own forms of worship, with the full sanction of the crown, and the ecclesiastical authorities, since the days of Elizabeth.

In a southeast corner of London, the district named Tooting Bec recalls the abbey that Herlwin founded, for it was here a daughter house once stood. And a Catholic church, dedicated to St. Anselm, has in our own days been built in this parish of Tooting Bec. For "the memory of him shall not depart away, and his name shall be in request from generation to generation. Nations shall declare his wisdom and the church shall shew forth his praise."

Non recedet memoria ejus et nomen ejus requiretur a generatione in generationem. Sapientiam ejus enarrabunt gentes et laudem ejus enuntiabit ecclesia.

A NOTE ON AUTHORITIES

For the life of St. Anselm the first and the chief authority is always the *Historia Novorum in Anglia et de vita et conversatione Anselmi* by Eadmer. (Edited by Martin Rule and published in the Rolls Series, London, 1884.) Eadmer was a monk of Canterbury and Anselm's secretary.

For St. Anselm's letters, meditations, and prayers: Migne's *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus*, Vols. 158 and 159. A contemporary life of Gundulf of Rochester is also in Vol. 159.

The *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Orderic Vitalis, the work of a monk of St. Evroul in Normandy, an Englishman from Shropshire and the contemporary of St. Anselm, is full of information concerning the period. It is to be found in Migne's *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus*, Vol. 188. An English translation was published in Bohn's Antiquarian Library, London, 1847.

For additional matter concerning the life and time of St. Anselm the following books (all edited for and published in the Rolls Series) may be consulted: The *English Chronicle*, the *Chronicle* of Florence of Worcester, the *History* by Henry of Huntington, and the *De Gestis Pontificum* and *De Gestis Regum Anglorum* by William of Malmesbury.

For the controversy of Anselm with the kings of England concerning the investiture of bishops and the ques-

tion of feudal rights and the papal supremacy, two modern books are invaluable to every student: *The English Church and the Papacy 1066-1200* by Z. N. Brooke (Cambridge University Press, 1931), *The First Century of English Feudalism*, by F. M. Stenton (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931).

The list of books on St. Anselm and his philosophy in French, German, Spanish, and Italian, published during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, is too long to be recorded here. There is no full biography of St. Anselm in English by a Catholic writer, at least so far as I am aware, though there are many short memoirs. R. W. Church, dean of St. Paul's and one of Cardinal Newman's old Oxford friends, wrote a charming book called *St. Anselm* (London, 1870), which is full of graceful appreciation and condescension.

A TABLE OF DATES

A.D.

- 1033. Anselm born at Aosta.
- 1034. Herlwin's first foundation of abbey of Bec.
- 1037. Herlwin first abbot of Bec.
- 1040. First removal of abbey of Bec.
- 1042. Arrival of Lanfranc at Bec.
- 1057. Anselm leaves Aosta.
- 1058. Second removal of abbey of Bec.
- 1059. Pope Nicholas II's synod at Rome restricts the voting at
papal elections to cardinals.
Anselm arrives at Bec.
- 1062. Anselm appointed prior of Bec on Lanfranc's departure to
become Abbot of St. Stephen's, Caen.
- 1066. Lanfranc becomes Archbishop of Canterbury after the
conquest of England by William of Normandy.
- 1070. Jerusalem taken by Seljukian Turks.
- 1075. Pope Gregory VII (Hildebrand) in synod at Rome forbids
investiture of bishops and abbots by laymen.
- 1076. Excommunication and declared deposition of the Emperor
Henry IV, king of the Romans, at the synod of Worms.
- 1077. Henry IV at Canossa.
- 1078. Anselm chosen Abbot of Bec.
- 1087. Death of William the Conqueror and accession of William
II (Rufus) to throne of England.
- 1089. Death of Lanfranc — aged 84.
- 1092. Anselm visits England and is refused permission to leave.
- 1093. Anselm chosen and consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury.
- 1095. Pope Urban II preaches first crusade at council of Clermont
in France. The same council forbids bishops and abbots
to take oath of fealty to laymen.

- Anselm at the council of Rockingham, Derbyshire.
1097. Anselm departs for Rome.
1098. Anselm finishes *Cur Deus Homo*, begun in England, and attends Council of Bari; addresses the Greek bishops present on doctrine of procession of the Holy Spirit.
1099. Anselm present at council of Lateran, held under Pope Pascal II, which confirms decrees against lay investiture of bishops.
Jerusalem delivered by Count Godfrey of Boulogne.
1100. Anselm returns to England on death of William II and accession of Henry I.
1102. Anselm holds council of London.
1103. Anselm leaves for Rome on question of investitures and is warned by Henry to remain in exile if he will not yield to the King.
1105. Anselm decides that Henry must be excommunicated.
1106. Anselm reconciled to Henry and returns to England.
1108. Anselm holds another council in London.
1109. Death of Anselm at Canterbury.

THE PAPACY

1033. Benedict IX.
1044. Gregory VI.
1046. Clement II.
1048. Damasus II.
1049. Leo IX.
1054. Victor II.
1056. Stephen X.
1058. Nicholas II.
(John of Veletis, the anti-pope Benedict X, 1058-59.)
1061. Alexander II, monk of Bec and Archbishop of Lucca.
(Cadalus of Parma, anti-pope Honorius II, 1061-71.)
- 1073-85. St. Gregory VII (Hildebrand).
(Guibert, Archbishop of Ravenna, anti-pope, Clement III, 1080-90.)

- 1086-7. Victor III, Desiderius, Abbot of Monte Cassino.
1088. Urban II, monk of Cluny.
1099. Pascal II, monk of Cluny.

KINGS OF ENGLAND AND DUKES OF NORMANDY


A.D.

1042. St. Edward the Confessor.
1066. Harold.
1066. William I, Duke of Normandy.
1087. William II (Robert, Duke of Normandy).
1100. Henry I becomes Duke of Normandy, 1108.

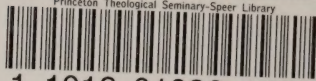
THE EMPIRE

1039. Henry III, King of the Romans.
1056-1106. Henry IV.
1106. Henry V.

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